

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

The Monitor's view

Portugal's progress

Portugal has held the first free municipal elections in 50 years and that is worth noting. The nation has walked a turbulent road since the overthrow of the right-wing dictatorship two and a half years ago but the Portuguese people deserve credit for persevering in their efforts to build a political democracy.

Of course they are frustrated and even disillusioned over progress to date, and this is reflected in the polls. With every election fewer people vote; on this occasion about 65 percent cast their ballots. Yet even this is a better showing than that made in the United States, where only slightly more than half of the electorate voted in the recent presidential election. The growing Portuguese apathy is regrettable but not critical.

As for the outcome of the election, it appears to be a qualified vote of confidence for the minority Socialist Party government inasmuch as the Socialists won more than one-third of the vote. The total was less than they got in the legislative elections last April but more than they expected to win. At the same time, because local personalities play such a dominant role in local elections, the Socialists cannot interpret the vote as a referendum on the policies of the central government. In fact, they will now find it more difficult to rule because of the unexpectedly strong gains made by the Communists in the South (to over 17 percent of the vote) and the gains made by opposition parties in the rural, conservative North.

Looking ahead, the big question is whether Portugal will be able to consolidate its democratic system through its economic recovery program. The problems are enormous.

Mideast 're-entry window'

All the Mideast talk these days is about reconvening the Geneva conference for another go at an Arab-Israeli peace settlement. The Arabs, led by Egypt, are actively pushing the idea at the United Nations. Israel, not to be left behind by its adversaries, has joined the call, even though, for technical reasons, it voted against the recent resolution adopted by the General Assembly to resume negotiations by March 1.

Perhaps too much false hope is building up over the prospect of a UN conference (which, it will be recalled, was set up after the 1973 war, met briefly, and then was suspended while Henry Kissinger went about his stop-step diplomacy). To bring the conference together is one thing; what happens when all the parties are assembled at Geneva is another. It could be a shambles.

Yet it is clear that, by setting up some negotiating forum, it will be possible to keep the diplomatic momentum alive through 1977 while the Israelis sort out their domestic political scene and thereby to make sure no conflict erupts in the crucial first year of the Carter administration.

Everyone agrees the time for movement is ripe. The Lebanese conflict is under control. The Palestinians are subdued and, with Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia working in tandem, they are under strong pressure to get aboard the Geneva bandwagon. It is encouraging to see that Egypt, mindful of Israel's sensitivities in this election year, is suggesting the Arabs go to Geneva in a single delegation that would include a representation of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Israel, which refuses to sit down with the PLO, conceivably could live with such a formula, thus avoiding a procedural dispute.

It is factors such as these which have led Secretary of State-Designate Cyrus Vance to say that a "re-entry window appears to be opening" in the Middle East.

President-Elect Carter will have to be quick to take advantage of this "window." His early task will be to start sounding out key Arab and Israeli leaders and get some "feel" for how they might proceed in the first phase of a resumed Geneva conference, inasmuch as he

unemployment stands at over 15 percent. Inflation at more than 18 percent. The nation's balance of payments deficit for the year is over \$1 billion. Some 800,000 refugees from the African territories have added about 9 percent to the population, compounding the economic burden. Workers' real wages have risen very little.

Confronted with this situation, Prime Minister Mario Soares can be applauded for his basic reform efforts. He has moved energetically on the agrarian front, returning land that was seized illegally and evicting the squatters. He has begun to carry out measures to boost labor productivity, such as limiting strikes and holding down wage increases in nationalized firms. He is trying to cut consumption and imports of luxury goods.

But his austerity policies obviously are not universally popular. Overall he must tread a fine line between instituting harsh, conservative policies that are essential if the economy is to get moving again and not doing so totally at the expense of the working population and the social gains of the revolution. He is bound to come under increasing pressure from the radiceli farm laborers of the South, where the Communists are strong, and the factory workers of Lisbon's industrial belt. While he is thus on the proper track, the political risks are great and the danger of attack from the right and left remains.

For all the uncertainties, however, the fact is that Portugal has instituted a functioning parliamentary democracy. It has a long way to go. But democracy is not an easy path under the best of circumstances and the Portuguese can take pride in a good beginning.



New Gaullist challenge in France

New political storm clouds are gathering in France, with the revamping of the rightist Gaullist Party under the leadership of former Prime Minister Jacques Chirac. Young, hard-working, and ambitious, Mr. Chirac now poses a potential threat to the man who ousted him last summer, President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, whose term of office does not expire until 1981. But municipal elections are due next March and important parliamentary elections are scheduled for 1978 — elections on which the two men do not agree, as far as tactics are concerned.

The groundwork for a Geneva conference, or more feasibly perhaps, a preliminary Geneva conference, will have to be carefully laid. Assuming the forum could not get down to substantive negotiation, it nonetheless could take up such procedural questions as the overall agenda and the establishment of working parties to deal simultaneously with various pieces of an overall agreement. Some role will have to be defined for the Soviet Union, the conference's cochairman with the United States. The broad outlines of these and other issues will have to be agreed upon behind the scenes before everyone gathers.

Procedure will be the easiest part of course. The substance — the establishment of a Palestinian state, the future of Jerusalem, the delineation of secure borders for Israel — will have to wait until after the Israeli elections next fall and no one thinks agreement will be easy. The Palestinians, while at least now talking about settling up a West Bank state, still refuse to recognize the existence of Israel. And while most of the world's nations have gone to the UN to meet with PLO representatives in Paris, Israeli opinion is far from accepting the idea of a Palestinian state wedged into Israel's eastern flank and certainly not before the Palestinians give up their claim on the whole of Palestine which they lost to Israel in 1948.

In fact, Mr. Carter's efforts could well be best toward persuading the PLO to respond to its demands for a "democratic secular state" in all Palestine. This would make it easier to bring Israel to the conference table and would create a climate of moderation in which compromise would be more possible.

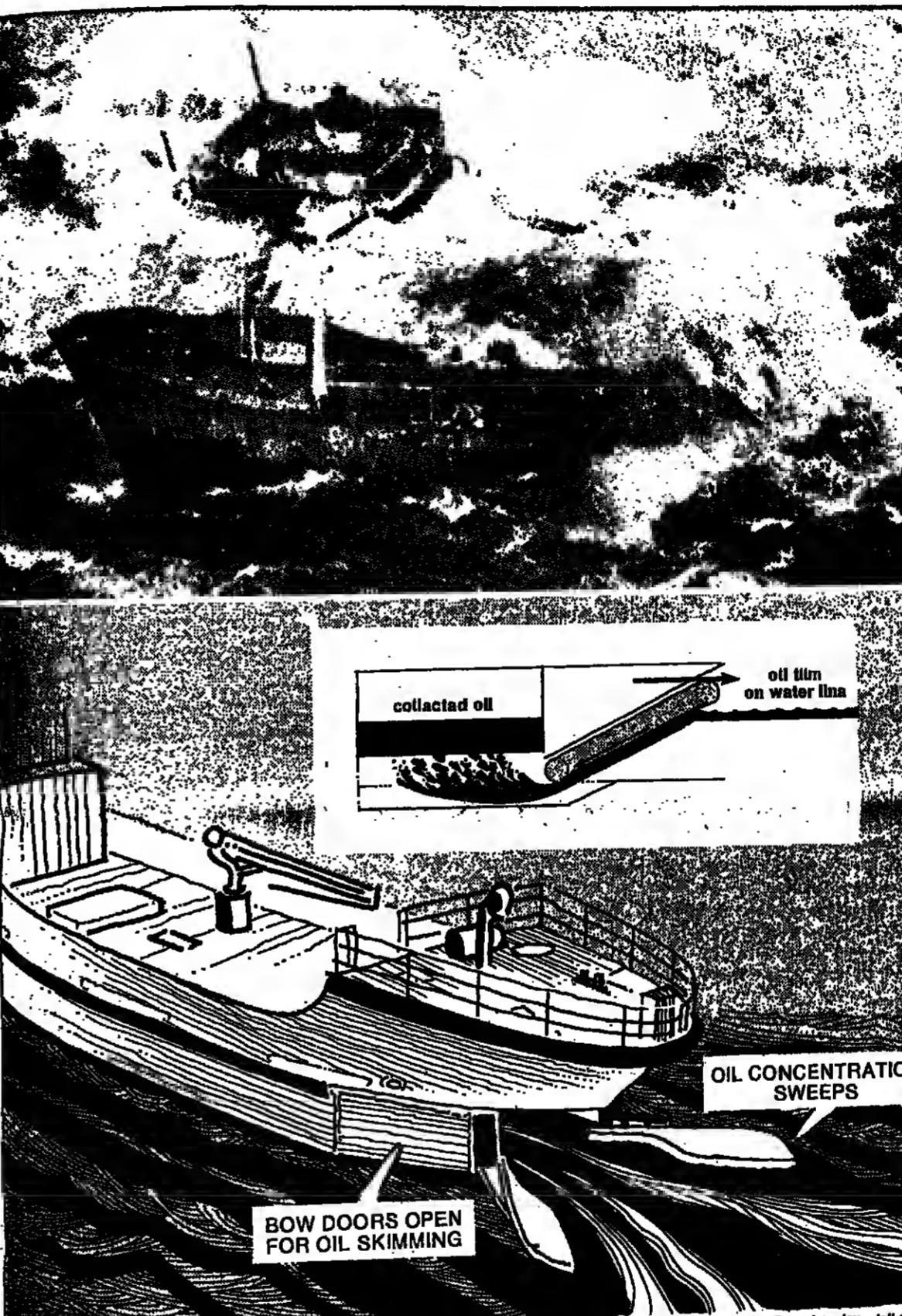
Realistically, it could be several years or more before the Arabs and Israel agree on a final settlement of their conflict. But the alternative to starting the long process of talking is more fighting. Hence Mr. Carter must begin building on the solid foundation laid by Henry Kissinger and put the diplomatic ball in play once again.

WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL EDITION

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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Oil skimmer (above), newly invented oil skimmer (below)

Man's know-how vs. natural disaster: the battle to contain oil spills

Wanted:

Ships with an appetite for spill oil

By Lynda McCormick
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON
Technology already exists to clean up major oil spills — the equipment doesn't. That's why government officials and private industry are not now able to halt the rough weather spread of major oil spills, like the one currently threatening from shoals off Nantucket Island.

The reason, say several sources, is that neither the petroleum industry nor the federal government has spent enough money or paid enough attention in the past to produce this equipment.

Unfortunately, the skimmer, built for Gulf Oil use, in North Sea operations, will not be launched until Jan. 25.

Mr. Bianchi adds that JBF has designed an even larger skimmer for use in 10-foot seas in the Gulf of Alaska.

Environmental officials in Massachusetts complain that the Coast Guard has been largely ineffective in its attempts to stop the Argo Merchant from causing what has become the largest oil spill in U.S. history.

*Please turn to Page 12

Jews and Arabs caught up in peaceward currents

By Joseph C. Harsch

The movement toward peace in the Middle East is building up a momentum of its own. It's as though Arabs and Israelis were in separate boats in a narrow, swift river with extremely dangerous rapids ahead. They can steer their boats, but cannot resist the current. Both boats will be carried into the rapids. No man can foresee what will happen then.

The peace movement picked up its decisive momentum 10 days ago when Saudi Arabia broke with the rest of the OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) over the price of oil. Most of the others wanted a high price rise to compensate for the rise in price of things they buy. Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates favored a minimum 5 percent price rise if any.

Since then, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has precipitated an early election, probably in May, by pushing three members of the National Religious Party out of his Cabinet. And Egypt and Syria have announced that they will attempt once more to reorganize themselves into a single political union.

Both of these new moves of the past week are logical preliminaries to a serious negotiation over a settlement of the war between Arabs and Israelis which has beset the Middle East and endangered the general peace of the world for nearly 30 years. Egyptians and Syrians improve their bargaining power by coordinating their diplomacy. Mr. Rabin must have a renewed mandate before he dares to go to the peace table.

*Please turn to Page 13

Rhodesia: after 'K' plan, a British mission

By David Ambler
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

United Nations, New York

The British Government, with the close cooperation of the Americans, is putting together a revised set of proposals for Rhodesia to replace the tattered remains of U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's original five-point plan for black majority rule.

The new blueprint is expected to lay out a far more active British role in the interim government that will run Rhodesia during the transition from white majority to black majority rule.

*Please turn to Page 13

To ring Comrade Ivan, simply dial 804429145032945544

By David H. Willis
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

MOSCOW

The Western visitor had to telephone from his Moscow office to Kiev, 548 miles away in the Ukraine. He trembled stories about telephone troubles abound here.

But he did it — by dialing 804429145032945544.

The call — and those 18 digits — told a good deal about telephone, Soviet-style.

On the one hand, the digits worked. After a 20-second delay while the automatic switching clicked away, the very person the caller wanted came on the line. Direct-dialing is available from Moscow to 84 cities around the clock and 23 more at weekends and limited other times.

On the other hand, all those numbers for one call indicate that the equipment here is not up to current Western standards. And it can take five years to have equipment installed in a new apartment complex.

*Please turn to Page 13

Highlights

FOCUS

More cultural freedom for China

By Frederic A. Moritz

Hoog Kong

Music lovers and moviegoers in China appear to be in for a change in the hill of fare. Lighter folk music may gradually replace highly political revolutionary operas and humorous adventure-filled epics about emperors and heroic generals may compete with the long, serious films that chronicle the arduous efforts of idealistic peasants and factory workers.

This is likely to be one result of the political purges of Mao Tse-tung's widow, Chiang Ching, and other radical figures who have long dominated the Chinese cultural world, according to experienced China watchers.

They suggest that cultural liberalization may be an important part of the efforts of new Communist Party Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping to rally the Chinese people behind him.

The new stage of experiment was ushered in last month when Minister of Culture Yu Hui-ying, a protégé of Mao, was reportedly arrested. Another arrested member of the so-called "gang of four," along

A recent and effusive tribute paid by the Chinese press to radical but noncommunist author Lu Tisan is taken by some analysts as a further hint of cultural liberalization.

Mr. Lu, a prominent writer in the 1920s and 1930s was lavishly praised last month on the 50th anniversary of his passing for his extensive work in translating foreign literature into Chinese. Some analysts see this as a sign that more foreign literature will be allowed into China.

But it is not yet clear how far this liberalization will be permitted to go. Nor is it clear to what extent the new Chinese Government will let its writers use art forms to give a realistic picture of life in China to both Chinese and foreigners.

Analysts note that once before, in 1958, the arts were allowed more freely to flourish under the slogan "let a hundred flowers bloom." Those who went too far were criticized the next year as rightists.

Moreover analysts note, victory by Chairman Hsu over Mme. Mao and her fellow radicals was made possible by the support of the Army.

And the Army, with its emphasis on discipline and order, could set limits on art forms that might be seen as decadent, excessively foreign-influenced, or conducive to disorder.

Roads steepen for world Jewry

By Francis Reilly
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

London

The tragic story of the world's Jews may be repeated yet again in South Africa and Italy before very long. So says Dr. Immanuel Jakobovits, Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Commonwealth, looking back on a year of travels through the Jewish world. Dr. Jakobovits also spoke sadly of disappointed expectations for Russian Jewry.

Talking to a luncheon party of British religious affairs correspondents, Britain's Chief Rabbi said that despite Helsinki and détente, the situation of Jewry in the Soviet Union had, if anything, deteriorated in the past year. (Dr. Jakobovits himself visited Russia a year ago.)

The Orthodox Christian church in Russia enjoyed greater freedom than the Jews there. The church had freedom of publication, freedom to organize on a national scale and to train men for the ministry. Jews had nothing like that.

Asked if he had been "taken for a ride" during his visit to Russia, with all the promises and assurances he had received, Dr. Jakobovits replied: "No more than Harry Kissinger was when he was promised détente and got Cuban troops in Angola."

The Chief Rabbi gave the example of a proposed seminar of Jewish intellectuals to be held in Moscow. He said it had evoked severe harassment, house searches, arrests, prolonged interrogations by the KGB (Russian secret police). Four Jewish intellectuals from Britain had applied for visas to attend, and three had been refused for "devious reasons" like there being no accommodation available for them. Dr. Jakobovits said he was glad to hear that both Britain and the United States regarded Human Rights as the top priority for the following year, and that it had to be held, notwithstanding the difficulties.

UPI photo

"We believe that not only are we a chosen people, but everyone is"

that Dr. Jakobovits had painted. Perhaps it would be as well to take it with a pinch of his own salt: "We Jews, I think, are constantly given to over-reacting to events. When things go well we rise on a crest of euphoria. When we suffer reverses, we fall to a trough of depression and despondency more severe than normal."

Jews were just beginning to recover from the effects of the East Europe-West Europe peace plan two years ago, had boosted their morale; the rescue operation which brought back the Jewish hijack hostages from Entebbe, and Western reaction against the United Nations resolution identifying Zionism with racism. That had helped to win back for the Jews a degree of understanding they feared they had lost.

Turning to South Africa, the Chief Rabbi spoke of "the profound pang of conscience felt by the Jewish community in a racist society with which they have never been able to come to terms." As always, Jews were liable to have to bear the brunt of any reaction against that society, and the prospect of wholesale emigration from one of the most courageous communities of the diaspora (the scattered worldwide Jewry) was extremely bitter.

Canadian Jewry, too, was faced with anxiety. French Canadian nationalism threatened a split between the Jewish community in Montreal and that in Toronto. Meanwhile Italian Jewry was caught in a conflict between extremely strong Arab influence, now creeping over Italy and the growing power of the Italian communists. The Chief Rabbi of Italy thought that mass migration of his community was becoming inevitable.

Dr. Jakobovits said he was still concerned about the intermarriage of Jews with Gentiles, for the very simple reason that it caused a decline in numbers, and you couldn't have Judaism without Jews. Already Jews had an

THE LAND OF JESUS. With two full pages of photographs of Galilee, Gordon Converse records backgrounds of the gospel stories. Pages 16 and 17

INTERVIEW. A grim picture of Mrs. Gandhi's India is painted by Nayantara Sahgal (niece of India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru). Page 18

SOWETO. The Monitor's correspondent in South Africa has had significant interviews on the Soweto question. In Tanzania she talked to black refugees and in Soweto itself to a prominent African in touch with the black Student Representative Council. Page 9

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Europe

Italy's Communists look to role in government

Even many leftists express some skepticism about Leninist heirs' sincerity in talk of cooperation

By David Willey
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Rome
in a multi-party system and would you voluntarily relinquish power if you were defeated in an election?"

A broader ideology?

Mr. Gramsci marked a stage in the development of Leninist ideology in that he dealt with the problem of democratic control in a complex, Western-type society. But the Italian Communists here about the sincerity of the party's professed attachment to a multi-party system.

A marathon meeting of the 177-member central committee of the Italian Communist Party is attempting to lay down the blueprint for a Communist utopia in Italy. Party leader Enrico Berlinguer started this critical analysis with a long interview in the party weekly *Umanità Nuova* saying the time had come to go beyond the theoretical basis provided in the 1930s by the party's ideologist Antonio Gramsci and redefine the sort of new society of which the Communist Party is aiming.

Wide support wooed

There has been some breast-beating at the central committee meeting by the party's new chief organizer, Gianni Cerioli, who complained of a tendency to impose improvised, slapdash solutions on Italy's current social and economic problems. But no clear image has yet emerged of how the party sees its future role in or out of government except as a member of a "grand alliance" of the [Roman Catholic] Christian Democrats and the Communists — an unlikely political development in the near future.

The accent at the central committee meeting is upon retaining the widest possible support for the party within the country. The working-class origin of the party is hated, but this does not mean that support is spurned from white collar workers, intellectuals, or even businessmen.

"The image is that of a government party needing technicians to solve everyday problems rather than militants devoting themselves to revolution," commented the authoritative Milan daily *Corriere Della Sera*.

"It might be said that the Communist Party, having arrived at the threshold of government, feels the need to change its shirt and adapt itself to its new tasks," the newspaper said.

The ideological inheritance of Antonio Gramsci, who died in one of Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini's prisons, appears to be proving awkward to the Italian Communists when they try to answer the simple question: "Do you or do you not believe

"Why such hate? Why such intolerance?" wrote Mr. Panella. "What sort of forecasts does this give of a government with Communists in it? How would they treat the opposition from the Ministry of the Interior?"

Italians of many political persuasions are wondering Mr. Panella's words as the Communist central committee churns out many speeches but few radically new ideas for tackling Italy's economic and political problems.

UPI photo

Berlinguer: "Time to go beyond theory"

Awareness filters into E. Germany

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

East Berlin

A West German boy of ten was playing in front of his apartment house here in East Berlin. (His father lives and works here.) The boy invited two East German boys of the same age into the apartment. It was high enough and tall enough to offer a good view of the wall that divides Berlin. (The wall was, of course, built by the East German Government to restrain its citizens, but propaganda here says it's to protect them against fascism.)

One of the East German boys said, "That is our anti-fascist protection." The other East German boy said, "You can call it the wall."

This story illustrates how politically aware East Germans are — and, as a corollary, how important West German broadcasting is to East German citizens.

Conversations with East Germans make it clear they are uncannily aware politically. They have to live and breathe the prescribed

style of Communism.

In addition to the regular West German stations, Deutschlandfunk and RIAS (Radio in the American Sector of Berlin) broadcast specifically to East Germany.

East Germans have a wide variety of Western programming to choose from — news, commentary, events in Moscow, developments in Africa, documentaries and specials, and coverage of Communist lands, culture, and so on.

Diplomatically, East Germany has tried long and hard to keep the Western media out but without success. Along with Moscow and the other East Bloc lands, the East German Government argues that especially after the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, such broadcasting is nothing but interference in the internal affairs of its country.

On the other hand, toivovians in East Germany and a study of the East German media — which include powerful radio stations reaching most of Europe — make it clear that the Communists have not given up their ideological struggle against the West.

The media here are full of negative developments in West Germany. And they also are full of items purporting to show how various aspects of "freedom" are stronger here. The word "freedom" appears constantly in the media here — "socialist freedom."

West German Foreign Ministry spokesman Klaus Terpiloff said Bonn's decision to

not affect the \$4 billion contract for West Germany to supply Brazil with full-cycle nuclear facilities.

Though these facilities could give Brazil the plutonium fuel and technology to de-

velop an atomic bomb, the Bonn government has argued that strict safeguards must make the agreement a model for other such deals.

Brazil has not signed the International Treaty prohibiting the spread of nuclear

arms.

Under the German contract, Brazil must complete an inspection agreement with

the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency before the equipment is delivered.

themselves, it certainly is true that they know more about West Germany than West Germans know about East Germany.

Two-thirds of all East Germans can receive regular West German television, and 80 percent of East German families have sets. West German radio reaches all of East Germany, and virtually all families have sets.

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On the other hand, toivovians in East Germany and a study of the East German media — which include powerful radio stations reaching most of Europe — make it clear that the Communists have not given up their ideological struggle against the West.

These citizens tell a stranger that their government does not do anything about it. "We hear Western broadcasts — and thank goodness," one woman told this reporter.



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Standing guard in East Berlin

thing. Uncompromising struggle against imperialist ideology is a basic requirement of an active result of peaceful coexistence."

What these abstract statements mean in practice is a constant attempt to tell "socialist" citizens of East Germany that their country is good and free, but that West Germany and other capitalist countries are evil and repressive.

But here in East Berlin, with so many Western broadcasts coming in that they just cannot be ignored, it is clear East German citizens "listen West."

These citizens tell a stranger that their government does not do anything about it. "We hear Western broadcasts — and thank goodness," one woman told this reporter.

Europe

E. Germans protest Bonn court ruling

Army deserter, fleeing to West, killed 2 border guards; wins acquittal

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Bonn
East German newspapers and radio and television have bitterly criticized a West German court decision acquitting an East German deserter while escaping to the West.

Werner Weinhold, who deserted the East German Army and fled across the border a year ago, returned to returning fire at East German border guards during his escape. He was charged with manslaughter by the Essen public prosecutor, who now will appeal the case to the highest court for criminal matters in West Germany.

Storm of protests'

The protests against the decision by the Communist Party-controlled media in East Germany indicates the leaders there feel it goes heavily against their international legal position. Two of the leading East German claims are that the Essen court's decision contradicts international law and that it represents a disregard of East Germany's sovereignty.

Lucas Deulschlend, the Socialist Unity

'Carter save us,' Greek Cypriots cry

By Daniel Sotherton
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
When the news of Jimmy Carter's election victory reached Nicosia, Cyprus, church bells, schoolchildren and civil servants got a holiday, and a sizable crowd thronged the American embassy in a happy demonstration.

"Carter save us!" shouted some of the people in the crowd of Greek Cypriots.

Mr. Carter's statements to Greek communities in the United States during the election campaign had led many Greeks to believe that he would favor them in their dispute with the Turks over Cyprus. Some of the statements did seem to stress a need for the removal of "foreign" — namely Turkish — forces from Cyprus as well as concern for the settling of mainland Turks on the island. But a careful reading of the prepared, more carefully worked out Carter statements on the Cyprus issue showed him to be more or less in line with a number of Ford administration statements on the subject.

According to the London Economist, the Turks have hinted that if the United States failed to ratify the cooperation agreement by early next year, the American bases would have to go. Under the pending agreement, the Turks would receive \$1 billion in military assistance from the United States over a four-year period.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been waiting for the completion of negotiations for a military agreement with Greece before acting upon the already negotiated agreement with Turkey. Both Turkey and Greece are NATO allies of the United States.

Now Mr. Carter has made it clear in a talk with U.S. senators that he intends not to favor one side or the other in his approach to the Cyprus problem.

According to the transcript of Mr. Carter's recent meeting with the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the President-elect is at this stage taking a cautious approach to the disputes between Greece and Turkey. To spell

(Communist) Party newspaper, has carried what it describes as a "storm of protests" from workers, educators, scientists, writers, youth, sports figures, pastors, and representatives of women's groups.

The two Germans have an extradition treaty, but it has a lot of loopholes.

In his decision freeing Mr. Weinhold, handed down Dec. 2, the judge, Jana Behringer, said there was no conclusive proof that bullets from Mr. Weinhold's gun had killed the two guards. East Germany sent documentary evidence on the case, but it did not permit witnesses to travel to West Germany for the trial.

The case is complicated by a number of elements. East Germany restrains its citizens from escape attempts with lethal borders and with a policy of shoot to kill.

Many East Germans have been killed by border guards while trying to escape. The question of self-defense which Mr. Weinhold invoked is a tricky one, as is the related question of whether the right to free movement should take precedence over the East German policy of stopping would-be escapees.

All are citizens

West Germany recognizes all East Germans as citizens, so from the legal position here it is



Controversial escapee Weinhold stands by West German border sign

no crime to simply escape. And West Germany does not recognize the border as an international border but as the demarcation of two zones, using post-World War II legal definitions.

Judge Behringer said East Germany had turned the border area into a killing zone and that the East German shoot-to-kill orders and

coercive restraint of its citizens were illegal. But he regretted two lives were lost as the result of "political realities."

Mr. Weinhold has a price on his head. East Germany has offered \$40,000 reward for his capture. He disappeared with several West German correspondents right after he was released.

All are citizens

West Germany recognizes all East Germans as citizens, so from the legal position here it is



Schmidt's ruling majority trimmed

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Bonn
Helmut Schmidt, just re-elected by Parliament as West Germany's Chancellor for the next four years, takes office with diminished political stature at home.

It is an unfortunate and contradictory state of affairs, since West Germany in the past two years has visibly taken on a much stronger position in the world as a middle power.

Within the European Community, Germany is the strongest economic engine by far and the largest source of direct and indirect aid to its European partners. It is the second strongest power in NATO. It already has begun to spread its wings at the United Nations, where it will be a member of the Security Council for the coming year. And its diplomatic activity in the third world is vital and successful. West Germany stands for free trade and a market economy in world business and economic relations.

At home Mr. Schmidt's essential problem is that the economic troubles of the last two years have exposed a bad case of government overspending, especially in the social services area. This in turn has exposed bitter ideological differences in his party, the Social Democrats (SPD), and within the government coalition with the Free Democrats (FDP).

It all came to a head the week before Mr. Schmidt was re-elected. He and many other SPD and FDP members of Parliament had pledged during the election campaign that pensions for the retired would be raised 10 percent next July.

More conservative members of the two parties felt this was dishonest, since the financial condition of the state agencies that pay the pensions is dismal. But most of them remained silent.

Then Mr. Schmidt, in consultation with his FDP partners,

tried to postpone the pension increase. This brought such a storm down on them that they had to backtrack and guarantee the increase.

The left-wingers in his party said this was dishonest and saw to it that he was re-elected to the chancellorship Dec. 15 by only one extra vote.

The split in his party is seen in other areas. A group of Social Democrats in the industrial labor are forming a new party that is clearly against socialist and neo-Marxist thinking. And in Munich the key members of the Bavarian SPD have just broken with their party there because, they said, it was too Marxist.

Such clear splits in parties in a parliamentary democracy are not superficial expressions of bad temper. They are signs of total disagreement with the course of events.

Mr. Schmidt belongs to the right wing of his party. But his government policy declaration, given Dec. 16, was judged by many here to be an act intended to soothe the leftists. He said for one thing that although full employment is the primary goal of the government for the next four years, there is little money for "reforms."

Mr. Schmidt's majority in Parliament is so thin that if he loses only five votes on any roll-call vote his government fails to get a majority.

Dissent within the coalition about policy toward East Germany also is a serious problem that could lead to trouble. And the labor unions are unhappy with Mr. Schmidt about the pension affair, especially after Labor Minister Walter Arendt resigned in its wake. Mr. Arendt is a respected labor leader.

The recently reunited Center-Right opposition — the Christian Democrats and the Bavarian Christian Social Union — is almost jubilant about the situation and is talking of a possible collapse of the coalition.

Next for Spain: election for a near-democracy

By Joe Gandelman
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor



Suarez: elections the next step

Madrid
After his resounding success in the referendum on constitutional reform, Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez is expected to move swiftly to prepare for general elections next spring that will make Spain a near-democracy.

The reforms approved Dec. 15 provide for a new two-chamber Cortes (parliament). The 350-member lower house will be directly elected and will have power to further amend the Constitution. The Senate, however, will consist of an equal number of representatives from each province and King Juan Carlos will have the right to appoint one fifth of its 207 members.

Results in the referendum were 94 percent "yes" and only 2.5 percent "no," with the remaining ballots being blank or spoiled.

In the country as a whole just over 22 percent of the electors abstained in response to the leftist opposition's call for a boycott, but in some parts of the Basque country the abstention rose to 63 percent.

Polls had predicted victory, but the "yes" vote far exceeded expectations.

The results represented a grave blow to extremist rightists who lauded a last-minute "vote no" campaign based on fear. That, any "no" was the Dec. 11 kidnapping by the "October first anti-fascist group" (GRAPO) of Spain's State Council president Antonio María de Oriol.

Those factors led to the government's impressive victory:

• The popularity of King Juan Carlos, who was cheered by crowds as he voted. Prime Minister Suarez is considered the King's royal servant. A defeat on reform would have placed the monarchy in jeopardy.

The kidnapping of Mr. Oriol, which backfired when rightists tried to exploit it, middle-class "undecideds" feared, reform was endorsed and tilted toward "yes." The nervous opposition quietly suspended its pro-abstention campaign.

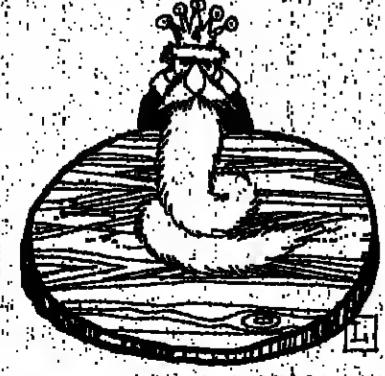
• Prime Minister Suarez's pre-election speech, considered the best of his career, analysts believe it decisively turned the tide by soothing fearful Spaniards and bringing out the voters.

There is some concern the victory might be too big. The government had hoped for a 30-35 percent "yes," which would have avoided the image of General Franco's lopsided 1966 referendum. With the government's huge victory, the frustrated opposition already is trying to raise doubts.

Extreme leftists call it a "Francoist" rigged referendum."

The Spanish Socialist Workers Party said the government used a "Francoist" dictatorship propaganda apparatus to falsify the options that authentically existed. But the privately most opposition leaders were relieved.

Round table not King Arthur's



Winchester, England
Scientists have debunked one of England's cherished beliefs — that a huge round table kept here was used by the legendary King Arthur and his knights.

The table, which is 10 feet across, was not made for Arthur and his knights of the round table to use at the famed court of Camelot, but for the 14th-century King Edward III, modern tests have shown.

However, Martin Dibble, who has supervised the scientific tests, said that King Edward did appear to have been inspired by the legend of Arthur when he ordered that the round table be made.

Tests have dated the cutting of the oak for the table to 1338. In 1337 portraits of Arthur and his knights were painted on it. The table is kept in the great hall of Winchester Castle.

It has not been established that the King Arthur of legend existed, but if he did, the most likely period of his reign is believed to have been the fifth century.

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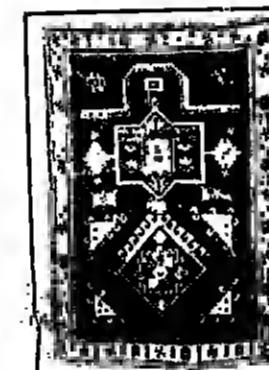
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France still balky over NATO ties

By Daniel Sotherton
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Brussels

France has balked — at least for the time being — at coordinating European arms production and procurement policies with the United States.

France's dispute with other European countries over this issue, so important to the defense of Western Europe, appears to demonstrate once

again that there are limits on how far France will go in collaborating with its North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies.

Three weeks ago, the Belgian chairman of the Eurogroup, an informal grouping of European countries within NATO, took the occasion of a press conference to deny reports that France had reservations regarding transatlantic negotiations over the coordination of arms production and procurement. According

to the twice-weekly publication *Atlantic News*, the chairman insisted that France was in favor of talking things over with the Americans but felt the time was not yet ripe.

But officials who attended

recent meetings of the European Program Group, an 11-nation grouping outside the Atlantic Alliance, said the meetings were marked by sometimes vehement disputes between the French and other European representatives who argued that it was time to start coordinating arms policies with the Americans.

"I've never seen such open differences," said one official who attended the EPG meeting held in Rome last month.

"It was the first time the French had actually been confronted with proposals to get together with the U.S.," he said. "Most of us were ready to get started but the French showed extreme reluctance."

The official said the EPG was currently trying to decide what tactical fighter plane would be needed for the European front in 1985, an issue involving military strategy and thus importance

to all members of the Atlantic Alliance.

But the French have officially maintained their "autonomy" from the military structure of NATO and decline to attend top-level military meetings of the alliance.

France's President Giscard d'E斯塔ing is eager to avoid criticism and seize business in the billions of dollars. Some American officials fear that he has deviated too sharply from the independent line laid down by the late President Charles de Gaulle, and the French insist on calling the EPG the "Independent European Program Group."

One of the unreported stories of the past few years has been the way in which the French have quietly grown more cooperative with their NATO allies, expanding their involvement in maneuvers and participating in continental

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Soviet Union

Brezhnev's birthday

The party is over but questions remain

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

The outpouring of praise and ceremonies to mark Leonid Brezhnev's 70th birthday here underscore some features of the Soviet leadership, but leaves others tantalizingly unclear.

By allowing the pomp and the adulation to outstrip the honors given to the late Nikita Khrushchev on Khrushchev's 70th birthday (in April, 1964, six months before his ouster), Mr. Brezhnev has shown just how far above the rest of the ruling Politburo he has risen in the last five years. Yet he has not received the kind of obeisance given to Joseph Stalin (who also turned 70 while in office).

The questions Western analysts are most interested in are not yet answered: do the peans of praise indicate that Mr. Brezhnev will stay in power for some years to come?

Or does he plan to retire with honor, as his wife Viktoria told a foreign diplomat two years ago he dreamed of doing one day?

Does he plan to turn more of the day-to-day work of government over to his heir-apparent, Andrei Kirilenko, while retaining ultimate authority himself?

No answers found

The most intense analysis by outsiders has failed to provide answers. Some Kremlin-watchers note occasional references in acceptance speeches by Mr. Brezhnev that he will serve as long as his health lasts. But this could be simply rhetoric.

Some observers found the Kremlin birthday ceremony Dec. 10, in which Mr. Brezhnev was awarded his third hero medal and his fifth Order of Lenin ribbon to be anticlimactic. Other observers had not expected much more anyway. The ceremony was attended by top East European leaders (except Yugoslavia but including Romania's Nicolae Ceausescu) and by

Mongolian and Cuban officials. An banquet followed.

The entire occasion was an opportunity for the Soviet Union to congratulate itself on its achievements at home and to stress its leadership of the communist movement worldwide.

This theme was picked up by Mikhail Suslov, chief ideologist of the Politburo, at the banquet for Mr. Brezhnev in the Kremlin in the evening of Dec. 10. Mr. Suslov praised Mr. Brezhnev for being an organizer, for moving the Soviet Union to a new stage of social cohesion, and for the policy of détente, which Mr. Brezhnev has pushed hard.

Some observers see in the day a reaffirmation of the party's supremacy over the military as well as of the party's own domestic and international image.

Unusual especia

Meanwhile, analysts were struck by two unusual aspects of the birthday buildup and celebrations, which have dominated Soviet media for more than a week:

• The presence in Moscow of veteran Chilean Communist Luis Corvalan, whose freedom was obtained by Moscow on the eve of the birthday in exchange for Vladimir Bukovsky, the young man who first told the West that Moscow was sending dissenters to psychiatric hospitals.

• The awarding to Mr. Brezhnev Dec. 10 of a ceremonial award in a leather sheath, emblazoned with a gold hammer and sickle, the state emblem. Such personal arms of honor have not been awarded since the 1918-21 civil war.

Heroic symbol

The sword might have been a substitute for the military rank of generalissimo. If it had been granted, the rank would have revived memories of the only other leader to hold it: Stalin.

A personal message of thanks for Mr. Brezhnev from Mr. Corvalan was broadcast by radio



AP photo

Galya with her great-grandfather Brezhnev in the Crimea last summer

Mr. Corvalan is regarded by Moscow as a heroic symbol of communist resistance to fascism because of his opposition to the Chilean military coup that overthrew Salvador Allende in 1973.

By flying him straight to Moscow on the night of Dec. 10, after the dramatic swap for Mr. Bukovsky at Zurich airport, the Kremlin appeared to be intent on a new honor for Mr. Brezhnev.

Moacow has made no public mention of the swap for Mr. Bukovsky. They regard the latter as a traitor. He had two years of a seven-year sentence left to serve on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

Moacow and carried on the Tass news agency when Mr. Corvalan arrived. While the Chilean did not appear at the Kremlin ceremony Dec. 10, Chilean sources here said he was expected to be greeted by Mr. Brezhnev personally Monday, Dec. 20 and driven through Moscow streets.

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Release played up

Apparently to gain credit for the release, Tass announced that world opinion fed by the Soviet Union had forced Mr. Corvalan's release and that Moscow would offer him full hospitality. It is reported that both Chile and the Soviet Union, working through United States and Swiss intermediaries, have agreed not to mention the swap in public.

A common theme in the question: "What good is freedom if it means openly displaying the works of Hitler and Mao Tse-tung? Do your books really sell such books?"

To the reply, "Yes, and those of Lenin as well," the reaction was often a shake of the head: "you mean Americans are allowed to read such things?"

Meanwhile, according to Tass, writing for the official news agency Tass, says Americans know so little about the Soviet Union that their questions "often betray an utter lack of knowledge and at times sound incredible."

He writes that during one month in the U.S. he saw only two items about the Soviet Union on the news programs of the three major television networks. One was on the Nov. 7 anniversary of the 1917 revolution and the other about the American Civil War.

"If you don't have internal passports, how can you prove who you are?" was a question that came often.

"How is it that we allow many more of your books and films into our country than you allow of ours?"

"Is it compulsory to go to school?" in the United States? "Is English taught as a second language?" (no question assumed that English and American were two different things.)

"Are you assigned to a job after you leave school?" "How do you live if you lose your job?"

Questions flooded in about high U.S. prices, high cost of medical care, crime and violence - all attack themes of Soviet media.

Another commentator, Vladimir Simonov of the Novosty agency, voiced the first direct criticism of the bicentennial exhibit the day after it closed. Writing in Moskovsky Komsomolets, a Russian youth newspaper, he said "even American correspondents had noted the lack of relevance to American problems in the

How Boris sees 'Uncle Sam'

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

"About every 15 seconds," the young American guide said, "a Russian would come up to me and ask if we Americans have to carry an internal passport, or if we needed a special card to live in big cities."

"Many Russians still think we all live in apartments," chimed in another guide, "and they are simply amazed at the thought that any American can speak Russian as we do."

These and other comments from guides at two major U.S. exhibits in three Soviet cities lately indicate that in spite of official claims to the contrary, the (Russian) thirst for knowledge about things American is still accompanied by much ignorance.

The questions that bombard guides at each exhibition are one of the few ways open to the West to gauge actual citizen impressions home.

Many Russians seem convinced that Americans know very little about the Soviet Union or that they see few Russian films, and read few Russian books.

After seeing a Soviet TV program in which a number of young Americans failed to name more than a few Soviet cities or republics, one earnest Russian asked a guide: "We want to learn about America. Why don't you want to learn about us?"

Détente, it seems, still has a long way to go to overcome years of mutual suspicion and official attitudes that color basic perceptions on both sides.

According to Soviet commentator Valentin Zorin, who recently produced and narrated a nine-part series on American cities for national Soviet television, the Soviet people "know well

things than they do, and they know we have more than the East Europeans."

"In fact, I think they tend to be defeatist about their country and quite insecure."

But what most Russians know is based on what their government tells them because they cannot travel abroad and can read only official publications here.

Those Russians who do listen to the Voice of America, the British Broadcasting Corporation, West German radio, and others (free from jamming since the height of détente in 1973) are learning more.

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Chicago: the end of one-man rule

By Richard J. Cullum
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago
one of the longest and most spirited reigns over any big U.S. city - Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley's iron-fisted rule for more than two decades over America's second largest metropolis - likely will be followed by:

• A split between the offices of Chicago mayor and the chairmanship of the Cook County Democratic Committee, both positions held by Mayor Daley until his passing Monday (Dec. 26).

• A power scramble to decide who will run in a special mayoral election to be held within six months - with a group of perhaps a dozen of the most powerful county Democratic commissioners actually choosing candidates for Mr. Daley's mayoral and party chairman posts.

• A continuing powerful role for the Chicago Democratic "machine," which observers here note was strongly in place when Mayor Daley was elected as a relative unknown in 1955. The machine appears to be in good position to also determine who will serve as mayor until the election.

• A likely redistributing of influence among the city's racial and ethnic groups - with a loss of power for the Irish and gains by black and Polish segments of the population. Greater county party influence will also likely flow to the suburbs from the city.

• Daley would have been powerless to have halted these processes," Mr. de Vise claims. "The end of the Daley era actually began at the end of the 1960s."

The Chicago-Cook County Democratic organization will undergo a redistribution - not a loss - of power, says Milton Rackove, author of a recent book on the Daley machine.

Suburban committeemen will be demanding and getting more power," Mr. Rackove says. "Power will also flow back into the city ward committeeman's hands."

Mr. Rackove sees little likelihood of a black-white confrontation over political power, since the leaders of both groups have too much invested in the organization. But the Irish, about 5 percent of the city's population, apparently will have to make concessions.

Of Chicago's 8.1 million population, 89 percent are black, 13 percent Latino, and 10 percent

county Democratic machinery. It is thought. "One of the machine's greatest strengths is its inability to adapt," Mr. Rackove says.

"When Daley came to power in 1955, he was just the front man for a group of powerful people. There are a number of talented, tough people ready to take his place."

"No flareup of tension in the city is expected. Between the politicians, labor leaders, and business leaders, all of whom are strong, the city isn't going to blow up," one observer said.



Chicago skyline from Lake Michigan

By William Mares

Prisons: are they the only answer to crime?

The overcrowded system

By Robert M. Press
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Joliet, Illinois

James Johnson spends all but a few hours a week here in a cell at the state's maximum security prison that is about three times as small as the typical tiger cage at Chicago's Lincoln Park Zoo.

And due to the serious overcrowding facing this and many other prisons across the country, three prisoners have been put in most of

the prison's normally one-man 8-by-10-foot cells. At the zoo, two tigers are put in cages measuring 15-by-18 feet.

With more persons in prisons or jails in the U.S. than ever before - nearly 600,000 - and with projections of continuing major increases, these questions are being forced on legislators, prison administrators, and the public:

• Do prisons reduce crime - or add to it?

The popular public conception of prisons seems to be that they get criminals "off the street"; some corrections specialists increasingly point out that almost all criminals eventually are released and that many return to crime.

• Should more prisons be built?

Florida and a number of other states have responded by expanding prison populations and planning more. But construction is costly. State legislatures, in some cases, are balking, looking for cheaper alternatives.

He cites a study showing it costs \$34,000 per prisoner to build a new prison.

• Should more prisons be built?

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Meanwhile, the overcrowding is posing some tough problems in terms of programs and security in prisons like the one here.

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Meanwhile, the overcrowding is posing some tough problems in terms of programs and security in prisons like the one here.

Already security risks have been heightened by quarrels over "which space is my space, which space is your space," he said in an interview. A clearer idea on how to handle violent criminals, not the construction of more prisons, is what the U.S. needs, he says.

In sufficient training programs keep most prisoners behind bars all day

United States

Carter wants 'Questions in the House'

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
President-Elect Jimmy Carter is asking a new dimension of Cabinet members by telling appointees that he expects them, if asked, to submit to question-and-answer sessions by the House, the Senate, or joint sessions of Congress.

This would be a dramatic development in the American government procedure — and parallel to the question period of parliamentary systems.

Both President-Elect Carter and Vice-President-Elect Walter F. Mondale, in respective books, advocate the appearance of Cabinet members before Congress, not merely before committees as at present, but before the legislative bodies as a whole.

Carter administrative assistant Greg Schneiders said here that the President-Elect is notifying Cabinet candidates, before selection, that this will be one of their possible tasks. He wants to make greater use of the Cabinet in administration decisionmaking. The requirement that they appear, on request, before Congress would require personal expediencies not presently stressed.

"In England, I was particularly impressed with the interrogation of Cabinet ministers in the House of Commons," Mr. Carter wrote in

his book, "Why Not the Best?" (1975), "and believe that it would be helpful here to have members of the Cabinet appear before joint sessions of Congress to answer written and verbal questions, probably with live television coverage for the whole nation to view."

He added: "We must insure better public understanding of executive policy, and better exchange of ideas between the Congress and the White House. To do this, Cabinet members representing the president should meet in scheduled and televised interrogation sessions with the full bodies of Congress."

Sen. Mondale independently advanced the same proposal in his book, "The Accountability of Power: Toward a Responsible Presidency" (1978). Mr. Mondale also sought the Democratic nomination.

"By subjecting Cabinet officers to questioning before the entire Senate," he said, "and making this available to radio and television — a question-and-report period might force presidents to nominate stronger Cabinet officers and give the entire Senate the opportunity to question them closely."

Mr. Mondale sponsored legislation in the Senate to further the project.

"This is not a new or radical idea," he wrote. "In 1864, a select committee of the House, and in 1881 a select committee of the Senate, recommended the right of the floor of

both houses to Cabinet officers to answer questions and participate in debate.

"In 1912 President Taft, in a message to Congress, made virtually the same recommendation." He recalled that Sen. Estes Kefauver backed the idea — and that a 1943 Gallup poll showed 72 percent in favor and only 7 percent opposed.

Mr. Mondale watched the question period in the Canadian Parliament and says he "was even more convinced of the validity of the process."

"The Canadian Cabinet officers were dealt with not as superior public officials deserving special deference, but simply as co-equals who deserved only such respect as they earned."

Mr. Mondale noted that one Canadian official thought "that if we had had a question-and-report period in Congress, the war in Vietnam — because of its indefensibility — might have ended much earlier."

Looking a parliamentary question period, Washington has substituted in the past the press conference, sporadically held both by Cabinet members and presidents.

Cabinet members defending positions on the floor of Congress in front of television cameras in the Carter-Mondale proposal would add a spectacular new dimension to American government. It would almost certainly create subtle differences in the relationship of Congress, Cabinet, and White House.



Capitol, Washington, D.C.
By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Q&A sessions planned in Congress

What Africans are demanding in Soweto . . .

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg
held under that act, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

SRC demands are conveyed through adult community leaders to government authorities. SRC leaders refuse to talk directly to white education officials "because they know what our demands are," the students say.

The U.S. ambassador here reportedly is also

trying to talk with the SRC leaders. His request has been conveyed to them, and it now

is up to the students to decide, according to a well-informed black community leader.

The attitude of whites has changed drastically since June 16, said T. W. Kamule, headmaster for 20 years of Soweto's Orlando High School. "They now think we should be viewed as human beings. But it is too late for only a change of attitude. The students want it to be that blacks can have what whites have, if they work for it."

For the SRC, the fight now is black against white. "When students marched into Johannesburg on Sept. 23, the police didn't shoot because they might shoot whites. In Soweto they shoot. The students notice the difference," Mr. Kamule explained.

About 20 percent of the 180,000 students in Soweto are judged to be activists, according to sources in touch with the government.

Currently, the SRC has organized a largely effective boycott of white-owned stores in Johannesburg. Some blacks were beaten up when they came home with Christmas presents from Johannesburg.

The government, under the new and more flexible regional director, J. J. T. Strydom, has relaxed its regulation that no new schools can be built in Soweto. Parents are being consulted now, and free textbooks will be issued from Form 1 instead of in only the last three years.

There are strong rumors that whites will be allowed to teach in Soweto soon. But all these plans may come to naught. The SRC says students will not go back to school unless Bantu education is abolished — may be impossible for this government to fulfill, say observers.

Bantu education began 20 years ago and is a cornerstone of apartheid, the policy of legal separation of the races.

Still the government is moving to alleviate some of the educational problems. Schools are due to open a month early, Jan. 6, and crush courses will be offered.

Soldiers of black teachers will be brought up to those of whites if their qualifications are equal. (But only 12 percent of African teachers will be affected.)

Some students secretly took the last matriculation exam, and the government has kept their names secret so they will not suffer reprisals. Figures vary from 10 to 20 percent of those eligible.

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"If white teachers come to my school, I

will not be able to have control over them. Be-

sides, there is a shortage of white teachers in

white towns," Mr. Kamule added.

One community leader said: "I feel the gov-

ernment is going to give in. They think it is

weakness. But they don't realize that if they

wait, it will be greater weakness because the

protest will be stronger."

... and what three men who lived there are doing now

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Solomon was studying to be a policeman when the riots broke out in Soweto, the black township on the fringes of Johannesburg, last June. He resigned from his program and fled from South Africa in early November.

Percy was a student in Naledi Junior Secondary School in Soweto, and participated in the June riots.

Saul, a teacher of English at Orlando Junior Secondary School in Soweto, was a confidant of the students, "because," he says, "I am not big."

These three young men, whose ages range from 18 to 25, are among scores of black youths from South Africa who have taken refuge in Tanzania.

Ready answers

Each of them was asked this question:

If you had the opportunity, would you accept scholarships to continue your education rather than training to be guerrillas to oppose the white South African Government? Without hesitation each said he would.

Yet these three youths have joined the African National

Congress (ANC), which says armed struggle is the only way to fight apartheid, the system that separates whites from blacks in South Africa. Theoretically, as members of the ANC, they should be among the most militant of the hundreds of new refugees who have fled from South Africa.

Solomon said the thing that most amazed him in Dar es Salaam was not the poverty, compared with South Africa, but the relations between the races.

Recently a woman journalist from East Germany invited him and others to her home for dinner. That was the first time he had been in a white person's home, let alone having been invited to dinner by one.

A single white contact

About 1.5 million blacks live in Soweto, and 12 miles away in Johannesburg live about 1 million whites. Many black adults commute daily to work in Johannesburg, but children go to school in Soweto, and their teachers are black.

The only white person Percy had had contact with before he left South Africa was the man who operated the cameras when, at age 16, he went before the authorities to get his identification card.

Saul's contact with whites had come when he was a very young boy. He was on a movie set of a film called "Tokata."

losi," a story about witchcraft. "They wouldn't show hatred toward me because I was young," he said.

In about four hours of conversation these young South Africans told me they were affected by the disturbances, how they escaped from South Africa, and how they first heard about the ANC.

Their conversation was not polemical or full of slogans. Two ANC officials who accompanied them, and who themselves came out of South Africa in the 1960s, occasionally felt obliged to insert some ideology or explanations.

Solomon left South Africa with a passport he had received the year before when he was studying jurisprudence and working with police in Soweto. He had had contact with whites, and liked one man. "But I could trust him only so far," he said, making a hand with his hands.

He said he had seen one little girl killed in the riots but was not otherwise involved. He had stayed back in the station and listened to the "boasting about gunning down the students" when the police returned from work.

Exit by train

After Solomon resigned — "because you get a conscience" — he wrote a play about inflation. Some students were rebarbers when it was Solomon, decided the police were after him. Using his passport, he said, he crossed into Botswana on a train; he does not remember the exact day.

Percy described how students stoned one white man to death in mid-June.

Later he was dancing at Uncle Tom's recreation hall in Soweto one night when he heard the police might be looking for him. He said he went underground and eventually left through Swaziland ("jumped the fence") and then moved on into Mozambique after joining the ANC.

In Soweto most teachers were not trusted by the students because they could be collaborators, said Saul. But students confided in him and asked him his opinions.

He was never in any great danger from police, but "you get so enraged that you feel you have got to go out and take the country. I don't know anyone with arms or training, but I am prepared to go back — with guns and not to confront the system with stones."

Saul, a gentle man with a penchant for details, said he walked over the Botswana border at 11:30 p.m. the night of Nov. 10.

None of these three youths belonged to the ANC before they left South Africa. (It is banned in South Africa.)

Solomon first heard about ANC by reading "Struggle for a Brighter," a book by Mary Benson. He had become curious when he heard his own uncle had been "slandered as a Communist."

Families know

Percy heard of the ANC of Uncle Tom's hall only last year, but Saul had heard about it years ago, when he was a boy and an old man used to tell stories around the fire at night. That old man was the first black man to walk (when it became legal) on the sidewalk in Pretoria.

The three young blacks say their families back in Soweto know they are outside. But they add that a lot of students disappear and families think they have escaped when they haven't. A lot are going to the Bantustans (black tribal areas), and police are picking many of them up, they said.

Solomon, Percy and Saul are among the increasing number of exiles who will help shape South Africa's future.

West Point cleans house after cheating scandal

By Peter C. Stuart
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The remedy for the worst cheating scandal in the history of the United States Military Academy at West Point looks like heavy doses of forgiveness and reform.

A special Pentagon commission recommends "as soon as possible" all 134 implicated cadets who have left while making the embattled honor code more flexible and the Academy's educational role more emphasized.

Secretary of the Army Martin R. Hoffmann, who has the authority to implement the recommendations he received Dec. 15, says he largely agrees with them.

"The cadets did cheat, but were not solely at fault," the commission concluded. "Their culpability must be viewed against the unrestricted growth of the 'cool-on-honor' subculture at the academy, the widespread violations of the honor code, the gross inadequacies in the honor system, the failure of the academy to act decisively with respect to known problems, and the other academy shortcomings."

One-fourth of class

The cheating scandal, which has touched nearly one-quarter of this year's graduating class of 800, evolved from widespread collaboration on electrical engineering homework last March.

The special commission, headed by aerospace-turned-airline president Frank Borman, urges a series of institutional reforms. Among them:

• The honor code — "A cadet will not lie, cheat, or steal, nor tolerate those who do" — should be retained in its present

form, but the only punishment available for a violation should not be dismissal from the academy.

• Quality education must command "first call" at the academy, with its superintendent chosen for educational as well as military qualifications, and more visiting professors hired to increase "outside viewpoints."

• Commission chairman Borman, a West Point graduate, says the academy on the Hudson River at West Point, N.Y., is supposed to have an atmosphere of military-style disciplinary pressure, but threatens to become "a Fl. Benning-on-the-Hudson" (i.e., more military than educational).

Indications are that the report of the commission, appointed four months ago by the Army Secretary, will form the basis of a series of West Point overhauls which Mr. Hoffmann intends to make "on a fairly unitary basis" in the remaining month of his term.

The change already under way is what he calls "a transition in leadership." The academy's second-ranking officer, Brig. Gen. Walter F. Ulmer, was replaced as commandant of cadets earlier this week by a scholar-general (Brig. Gen. John C. Band), a West Point "hopper" graduate and former Rhodes Scholar.

The superintendent, Lt. Gen. Sidney B. Berry, also is expected to be transferred when his term expires in the spring.

"We hope," says Mr. Borman on behalf of the commission,

"that the institution will make some corrections that will restore it to full health."



Getting ready for parade
By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer
West Point code: what price honor?

Refugee center: Ovambo, Namibia (South-West Africa)

Fleeing Angolans clamor for water at refugee camp set up by South African Government in Namibia

China

Can Chairman Hua keep the purge from boomeranging?

By Ross H. Munro
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor
1976 Toronto Globe and Mail

Peking

Attacks on real and alleged supporters of the radical "gang of four" have become so disorderly and so indiscriminate in some parts of China that they threaten the interests of Communist Party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng.

The anti-radical drive began in early October as soon as the news emerged that the widow of Mao Tse-tung and three other leading radicals had been purged and that Mr. Hua was the new party chairman.

To a greater or lesser extent, the anti-radical drive has evolved into a purge in probably every province in China. At least hundreds,

probably thousands, and perhaps tens of thousands of officials have been effectively dismissed from their posts.

But Peking's pleas for discipline and restraint indicate that Mr. Hua himself feels there are political dangers for him in a purge he had helped unleash but can no longer control.

There is a political purge under way in probably every province in China. The officially controlled press is constantly suggesting that the "gang of four" had its network of supporters in every province and in virtually every important institution.

However, Chinese political tradition does not provide strong grounds for expecting that these calls for moderation will be heeded. Magnanimity toward losers is not a strong element in Chinese political culture.

There is a continuing debate, however, over how broad and how severe the anti-radical campaign should be. To put it in practical terms: How many officials at the lower levels are going to be disgraced and dismissed and

how many will be disciplined, criticized, and then given an opportunity for rehabilitation?

There are at least two problems in all of this for Chairman Hua. The first is that nasty factional struggles create or reinforce long-lasting divisions, grudges, and distrust. This in turn reduces the governability of the country — something Mr. Hua must be thinking of. Thus calls for restraint and discipline in the current anti-radical campaign reflect Mr. Hua's interests.

Purging officials who were in the middle would only increase Mr. Hua's already heavy reliance on the hard core of military men and bureaucrats who were instrumental in putting him where he is today.

Although Mr. Hua is a man of proven political skill, he nevertheless came to power without the sort of political base of old supporters and colleagues that requires a couple of decades in national politics to establish.

China's turn at the oil price wheel

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Hong Kong

The new leaders of China must soon make an important decision: how much oil to sell to help finance the modernization they want for their country — and at what price.

With the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) split on the issue of price hikes, China now must decide how low to keep its own prices if it is to boost foreign exchange earnings by increasing petroleum exports to its largest customer, Japan.

The decision could give further clues to just how much the purge of so-called political radicals who opposed exporting Chinese oil has affected the country's foreign trade policy.

Some answers are expected when Chinese officials sit down with representatives of Japanese buyers to discuss a 1977 ante contract. Although a date has not yet been set, Japanese sources expect the talks to be held before the end of the year, probably in Peking.

Not an OPEC member

China is not a member of OPEC. Yet in the past it has generally followed international price standards, partly, it is thought, to avoid offending Middle East countries.

Now, with Indonesia endorsing a 15-percent price hike by July 1 while Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates support a 5-percent increase, the Chinese may have new room for maneuver without clearly undercutting OPEC standards. This is important because China must keep its oil (which is low in sulfur but high in wax content and therefore relatively expensive to refine) competitive in price with Indonesian oil. Indonesia, whose oil is cheaper to refine but more expensive to transport to Japan than Chinese oil, competes with China to supply low-sulfur oil to pollution-conscious Japan.

In the past Chinese advocates of increased oil exports appeared to recognize the need to keep prices low enough to stimulate Japanese demand — and thus help pay for the large amounts of steel and fertilizer imported from Japan. Analysts suggest the Chinese also sought to keep their prices low enough to prevent a revived Japanese interest in John oil and gas-development projects with the Soviet Union in Siberia.

Beginning in 1973, Japan was the first major overseas market for Chinese oil. Last year, of an estimated 78 million tons



Taching oil field
Drilling for Chinese oil — while Peking decides how much to charge for it

of oil produced in China, Japan bought 8 million of the 12 million tons exported.

But by the middle of this year the Chinese were telling Japan that no large surplus of oil was available for export. At the same time China ended negotiations with Japan on an agreement to trade Chinese oil for Japanese steel.

Oil policy debated

The apparent cooling of interest in oil exports coincided with the rise of radical influence in Chinese politics after the passing of Premier Chou En-lai last January. The radicals appear to have obstructed the oil-export policy supported by Mr. Chou and former vice-premier Teng Hsiao-ping (who was dismissed in April).

Both men had favored expanded oil exports to finance im-

ports of whole factories from countries like Japan and West Germany. For their part, the radicals wanted Chinese oil saved for domestic use. The import of foreign plants (ended during the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960s but resumed in 1972), they argued, would weaken Chinese self-reliance and produce a privileged class of technical experts.

But since the radicals were purged two months ago, Chinese spokesmen have told visitors that Mr. Chou's strategy of promoting economic growth by exporting minerals and oil will be re-emphasized. There will also be more imports of technology, machinery, and whole plants, they have said.

It is still unclear how much oil China will have available for export next year. In the past few weeks the Chinese press has mentioned production problems at Chinese oil fields and blamed them on interference by the purged radicals.

Chou En-lai fast becoming a national hero

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Hong Kong

Chou En-lai, under fire in his final years from powerful political opponents, is fast becoming a national hero in China posthumously.

Mr. Chou's memory is being invoked by the new leaders of China as a symbol of the dedication, hard work, and balanced judgment that they say the country's future will demand.

This new stature, say analysts of Chinese affairs, represents both a recognition of widespread admiration for Mr. Chou among the Chinese people and a conscious effort to promote the "pragmatic" policies of economic modernization associated with the late premier.

distant figure, highly respected but at times feared for the personal disruptions his unpredictable revolutionary campaigns against bureaucracies could bring.

Mr. Chou was a smooth, gentlemanly, and skillful diplomat who could be tough when necessary but who always displayed an educated refinement. Even though he was a dedicated communist revolutionary, his qualities were those of moderation and shrewdness, which the Chinese have long looked for and admired in their leaders, many analysts agree.

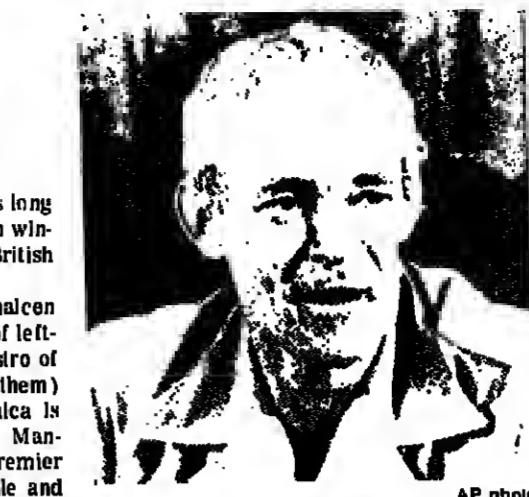
One sign of the new stature Mr. Chou's popularity is receiving these days was the reelection of his widow, Teng Ying-chao, to an honorary post as vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese legislative body, the National People's Congress.

In this capacity she has taken over her hus-

Latin America

Jamaica lists a bit more to the left

By Geoffrey Gadsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor



Montoneros promise more terrorism in Argentina

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Buenos Aires

"The fascist military are pushing us hard," commented a member of the left-leaning Montonero guerrilla organization, "but we still have got plenty of axes up our sleeves."

These words were uttered in an interview only a couple of days before a terrorist bomb blew up an auditorium in a defense ministry building here. In the wake of the Dec. 15 blast, the military is likely to step up its campaign against the Montoneros, who claim credit for the bombing that killed 11 persons and wounded another 20.

The Montoneros promise more such incidents. Whether they have the capability to sustain such operations is not clear. But there is a strong feeling here that previously expressed optimism that Argentina's military government has the terrorist problem nearly licked may have been premature.

Only five days before the recent blast, president Jorge Rafael Videla had said in an interview that his government "is very close to final victory" over the leftist terrorists.

If that is so, people here are asking, how was it possible for the Montoneros to plant a bomb in a defense ministry building? Such a bomb is a task of daring.

Commenting on the explosion, the English-language Buenos Aires Herald suggested that "despite earlier such incidents, there are obvious deficiencies in security measures."

There is no doubt here that the military has been having considerable success in its anti-terrorist campaign. The leaders of the Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP), one of the two main terrorist groups, have been killed or are in detention, and its rank and file is largely decimated.

But the Montoneros, the other main group, are still very much in evidence. Their claim of responsibility for the latest blast included a comment that the explosive was placed by the group's new "Ester Norma Arrosto Comandos." Miss Arrosto, a leading Montonero, was shot to death by security forces Dec. 3 after a three-year hunt sparked by her role in the kidnap and assassination of former President Pedro Eugenio Aramburu.

The Montoneros obviously continue to possess a high level of mobility — a fact that belies the government's assertion that, from a security point of view, the terrorist problem is nearly finished.

The Montonero leadership is largely intact, as are its ranks.

The leaders, who claim to want "the end of the fascist government" and "to replace it with a government of the people," say they are at war with the military.

"We will win because the people are with us," one Montonero leader said recently. Most observers dismiss such remarks as rhetoric.

A significant majority of Argentines are simply tired of the terror and violence and, for now at least, lend their support to the government's efforts to root out the guerrillas.

Moreover, despite the continuing Montonero activity, the general feeling in Buenos Aires is that the military has the capability of eliminating the terrorists and that it is only a matter of time before this happens.

New Zealand to increase beef imports to U.S.

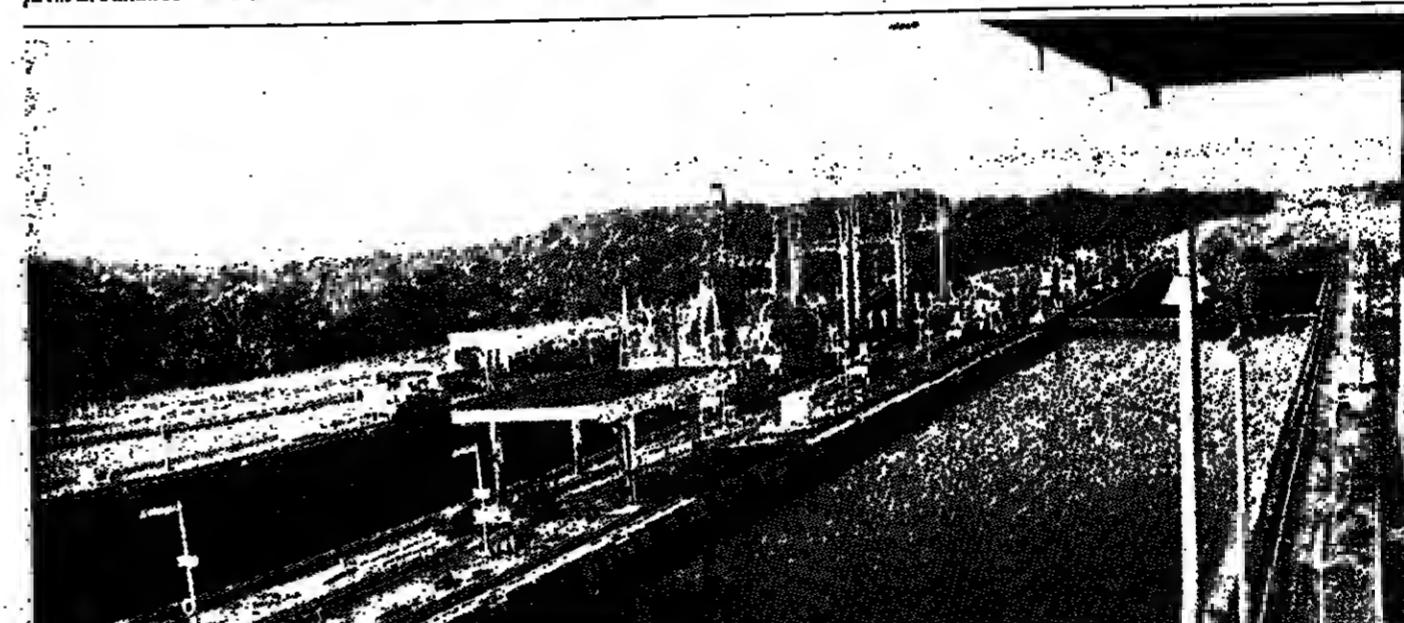
By the Associated Press

Wellington, New Zealand

New Zealand will be able to increase its beef exports to the United States by 8.5 million pounds in 1977, Overseas Trade Minister Brian Talboys has announced.

He said New Zealand would enter into a voluntary restraint agreement with the U.S. covering shipment of 288.3 million pounds of beef to the American market in 1977, more than under any previous agreement.

Symbol of 'Yankee imperialism' or test of 'new dialogue' with Latin America?



By Peter Gould

Panama Canal: Carter's first face-off?

By Daniel Sutherland
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Of all the foreign policy issues facing the new Carter administration, the clock may be running out fastest on the one that has been described as "the most explosive issue in Latin America" — the Panama Canal.

U.S. officials, as well as some nongovernment experts on the subject, now say that if the pending negotiations between the United States and Panama over the status of the Panama Canal break down, a guerrilla war against that very vulnerable facility is not only quite conceivable but even "probable."

The Panamanian Government's initial reaction to Jimmy Carter's most recent remarks on the issue was that Mr. Carter, during the election campaign, "raised the price" for a new treaty between the U.S. and his country.

Mr. Carter's foreign policy briefers seemed generally surprised that he had taken as apparently hard a line as he did in debate with President Ford, saying that "I would never give up complete control or practical control"

of the zone. Where Mr. Carter will go from

there, no one professes to know. Some of his advisers are now aross his willingness to negotiate. But if he sticks to a hard line, Latin American experts predict, there will be trouble.

Military experts say, in the meantime, that one well-conducted commando raid on the 50-mile-long canal could knock it out of business for as long as two years.

According to one estimate by the experts, it would take 100,000 American troops, along with considerable air and naval support, to defend the canal against 10,000 guerrillas. Even with that level of armed force, however, the military could not guarantee the continued operation of the canal. At present the United States has 8,000 to 9,000 servicemen stationed in the area.

U.S. negotiators are hoping, of course, that matters never reach the stage where the vulnerability of the canal becomes the issue. But the negotiators' task was not made easier by statements on the question emanating from both President Ford and Mr. Carter.

According to the experts, unless General Torrijos can get some kind of settlement out of the Americans which looks reasonable in the course of their debate on questions of foreign policy and defense, the two talked almost as though the United States has sovereignty over the Canal Zone, which it does not.

Middle East

Israel: why Rabin called for an early election

By Francis Osher
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Tel Aviv, Israel
Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's surprise move in dissolving his government coalition and advancing general elections from November to spring or early summer is good for Israel — and good for Mr. Rabin's own political position.

That is the assessment of seasoned observers here. The advantages gained are hush of an international and internal political nature.

Under Israel's constitutional law, the moment new elections are decided the government must remain in power on a caretaker basis until a new post-election Cabinet is formed. Even if he is defeated on a vote in the Knesset (Parliament), where he no longer commands a majority, Mr. Rabin cannot be toppled from power during this interim period. Thus paradoxically, for the first time since

he became Prime Minister in June, 1974, Mr. Rabin now will have several months of freedom from threats of ministerial resignations and similar pressures. He will be comparatively free to act than ever before.

Clear to respond

Practically, this will mean that the Israeli Prime Minister will be in a position to respond to any peace moves without the restrictions that hampered him when his Cabinet included three ministers of the strongly nationalistic National Religious Party.

True, defense Minister Shimon Peres and a number of other hawkish continue to sit in the government. But, unlike the theologically motivated ministers of the National Religious Party, the hard line of Mr. Peres and his allies is based on security reasoning. And after all, security is something close to Mr. Rabin's heart too.

Thus the new situation might enable Mr. Rabin

Saudi oil decision has a price tag

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Doha, Qatar
Saudi Arabia's refusal to agree to boost world oil prices by 10 percent on Jan. 1 has political price tags attached, both for itself and for the United States.

Delegates of Saudi Arabia's more radical Arab adversaries, and of other OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) states, which would not agree to the moderate 6 percent increase of Saudi oil, have come from their conference here muttering about disunity and about Saudi-U.S. "collusion."

Far more important, Saudi Oil Minister Ahmed Yamani now is on record as demanding speedy action by the incoming administration of U.S. President-Elect Carter on the Arab-Israeli dispute.

The Saudis, as Sheikh Yamani told both newsmen and other OPEC delegates here, also would like to see much more U.S. understanding in the North-South economic dialogue in Paris for the growingly dramatic plight of the developing countries.

World reaction indicative

World reactions to the split-OPEC price decision — a 10-percent rise, with 6 percent more added automatically next July 1 by 11 of the 13 OPEC members but only a 5 percent rise by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates for all of 1977 — show the ever-present but increasingly visible link between oil and Middle East politics, which U.S. policymakers must face.

Will Israel talk to PLO?

By Francis Osher
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Jerusalem
As Israel faced the prospect of early general elections, the results of an opinion poll published here showed that nearly half of all Israelis would favor peace talks with the Palestine Liberation Organization if the PLO recognized the state of Israel.

The poll, conducted by the Port Institute of Tel Aviv for the newspaper *Haaretz*, showed a 47.5 percent in favor of talks with the PLO and 37.4 against. The rest were undecided.

The survey was taken before the present Cabinet crisis. But it points to a trend within the public that has not been lost on the government.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin told the Knesset (Parliament) last Monday that he was recommending early elections. Now only the date remains to be decided.

Israel's readiness for negotiations for a peace settlement will be one of the major issues in the election campaign. Negotiations imply cession of territory by Israel. The hawkish National Religious Party (NRP), which Mr. Rabin has dismissed from

him, in case of successful negotiations at a re-convened Geneva conference or elsewhere, to come before the Israeli electorate with a draft settlement proposal without risking the dissolution of his existing government coalition.

If such a draft — at best a peace treaty, if worst (in the Israeli view) an agreement ending the state of war — were sufficiently attractive for the Israeli voter, the majority might approve substantial territorial withdrawal in return. In that case Mr. Rabin's big gamble would become worth the personal risks involved.

U.S. backing needed

However, to foster such a development Mr. Rabin would need strong support from the incoming United States administration and something more substantial than spoken peace initiatives from the Arab side.

An agreement with any of the Arab countries will have to be "filled with meaningful

content," Mr. Rabin's supporters say, if he is to remain in power. Otherwise the risk is that he will be succeeded by a more hawkish government.

"Meaningful" in this context would call for arrangements enabling open Arab-Israel trade, free movement of tourists, cessation of hostile propaganda and boycotts, and the end of guerrilla activities against Israel.

Mr. Rabin still insists that the problem of the Palestinians has to be solved within the framework of a Jordanian-Palestinian state. But should the forthcoming convention of the Palestine Liberation Organization, scheduled to be held in Cairo next February, cancel those provisions in its charter that call for the destruction of the state of Israel, Mr. Rabin might then soften his stand. It is too early to say whether he would go so far as to agree to a kind of federative Jordanian-Palestinian state, with the Palestinian part consisting of most of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Much will depend on how genuine Arab peace moves look in Israeli eyes.

Carter meeting sought

To clarify the situation with Washington, Mr. Rabin is seeking an early meeting with Mr. Carter after the latter's inauguration. But judging from first informal reactions from medium-level officials at the State Department, such a meeting now has become "questionable," since it could be interpreted as American interference in Israel's elections.

On the internal political front Mr. Rabin for the first time has succeeded in demonstrating that he is the boss of the Labor Party. This, his associates hope, may deter Defense Minister Peres from putting up his own candidacy for the premiership at the Labor Party convention in February. However, friends of Mr. Peres seem determined to challenge Mr. Rabin's leadership regardless of the Prime Minister's latest move.

Mr. Abd al-Karim charged in a Baghdad radio broadcast after returning home that Shukh Yamani had tried to "emasculate" OPEC by serving as the code for the Klev region. The next "2" pinpointed Klev Klev. The next seven were the number in Klev. The last seven were the number in Klev. From which the call was placed (necessary because it was an old exchange, from never ones these numbers are omitted).

Even one of the best features of Soviet telephone



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*To ring Comrade Ivan . . .

The Central Committee of the Communist Party has launched a new drive to improve and widen service. It admitted recently that the system is failing to keep up with the pace of development in this sprawling nation, economy's needs. In this sprawling nation, whose 11 time zones span 5,000 miles, good telephones are vital.

According to a recent Western estimate, the Soviet Union still has only 5.7 telephones per 100 persons — compared with 65.5 in the United States, 52.3 in Canada, 34.1 in the United Kingdom, 28.7 in West Germany, and 21.7 in France.

Sometimes telephones don't work at all — such as at the Inguri power plant in the mountains of Soviet Georgia, where the phone is so bad that a car and driver are kept on duty at all times to rush messages to the outside world. A complaint appeared in the Georgian newspaper *Zarya Vostoka* (Dawn of the East) Dec. 7.

The Central Committee says telephone capacity rose 150 percent in the five years to 1972. And although the quantity of wrong numbers does seem higher compared with the West (to judge by individual experiences here), making calls here is usually straightforward.

In the call to Kiev, the first "04" obtained the long-distance line, the "044" was the code for the Kiev region. The next "2" pinpointed Kiev Kiev. The next six digits were the number in Kiev. The last seven were the number in Moscow, from which the call was placed (necessary because it was an old exchange, from never ones these numbers are omitted).

Even one of the best features of Soviet tele-



'Wait for our next five-year plan'

phones works against the planners. Calls are still very cheap by Western standards, but costs keep rising. A local call from a public box is only 2 kopecks (2.8 cents), as it has been for 16 years. And the call is unlimited. Inter-city calls can be dialed directly from special public booths. The most expensive call (to cities more than 800 miles away) costs only 25 kopecks (34 cents) per minute.

A private telephone costs a flat fee of two rubles, 50 kopecks (\$3.41) a month, paid by filling out a sheet in a book of forms and delivering it with the cash at the nearest bank or post office. Long-distance calls are billed separately. Check-writing is largely unknown here.

Very wages have gone up more than four times since the last rate change. New phone network stations are financed by loans from the state bank, but the money cannot be repaid later because profit margins are so small.

And to raise phone rates would be ideologically difficult for Soviet rulers.

One other aspect of Soviet telephones needs improvement: telephone manners. Too often, writes a commentator in the newspaper *Elevating Moscow*, phones are slammed down with a gruff "He's not here," even before the caller can pronounce the name. Officials in Moscow have asked people here (the city has about 2.1 million telephones) to limit calls to four minutes. Lead-in cables are in short supply. In Orenburg, the paper said, only 17 houses out of 104 could be fitted with cables.

Even one of the best features of Soviet telephones is that the whites have one-fifth of the seats in a one-chamber government — for instance, seven out of 35 or 40.

Bishop Abel Muzorewa, leader of one of the black nationalist factions and a popular figure in Rhodesia, has called for elections to a prime minister of the interim government who would then help choose ministers. But this proposal is derided by the other black nationalists and is dismissed as technically too complicated by the British.

Elements of plan

The revised British plan for Rhodesia includes the following elements:

• Some form of British presence, a resident commissioner or governor general, in effect would replace some of the functions of the Council of State proposed by Dr. Kissinger. Because this council would have had a white veto (two white, two black members with a white chairman), the black nationalists fear if might provide a back door for continued white rule.

What role the British "presence" would have not yet been outlined in detail. The Patriotic Front of Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe (perhaps closest to the guerrillas) want Britain's role to be minimal, basically ceremonial, with power held by a black majority government.

At the other end of the spectrum, the British and Americans hope to persuade Rhodesia's black nationalist leaders to draw back from their demand for an almost immediate black take-over.

A moderating influence here are the "five presidents" of the black nations nearest Rhodesia. They are understood to favor continuation of the Geneva talks, which adjourned

on Dec. 14 and are scheduled to resume Jan. 17.

In particular, Mozambique's Samora Machel, in whose country most of the Rhodesian nationalist guerrillas are based, is described as having a combination of talk and guerrilla warfare. The guerrillas, with their Soviet weapons are seen by such African leaders as the main thrust pushing Mr. Smith toward acceptance of majority rule.

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Thus it would be more comfortable for many on both sides of the Middle East conflict to continue in a state of unresolved hostility no matter what the price. The old condition has come to seem normal. A true settlement would seem abnormal. For Arabs and Israelis now to accept each other as friends and fellow residents of Arabia would be as difficult emotionally as for the Protestants and Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland. There, they build walls between their respective streets. They find it impossible to live side by side as neighbors.

Also, there are terms essential to any settlement which would be extremely difficult for both sides to accept. UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim told this newspaper last week that he sees "concrete possibilities" for peace in the present situation which are now, and for the first time, being "actively discussed." He cited the problem of Palestine Liberation Organization representation at a ravaged Geneva peace conference.

But that is only the last of the problems which will have to be surmounted or sur-

rounded.

How much territory?

Israel is probably willing to return much of Sinai to Egypt, but many an Israeli leader is

on record as saying that they don't give up the Golan Heights, Sharon al-Shakh, and effective military control over the West Bank of the Jordan. Also the feeling is strong in Israel about the Old City of Jerusalem. Zionists are accustomed to ask: "What is Zionism without

Mt. Zion?"

But the Old City of Jerusalem is as impor-

tant to Muslims and Christians as it is to Jews.

Both would probably settle for internationalization of Jerusalem, not for continued

Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem. And both

would want protection which does not now exist for other places in Palestine which are im-

portant to them. Christians believe that Israel is either deliberately or carelessly damaging the environment of special Christian interests.

Modern high-rise buildings are changing the skyline of Jerusalem.

Egypt and Syria expect to get back virtually

all of the pre-1967 territories. They probably

could accept minor border changes, but not as

much as most Israelis seem to want and ex-

pect to keep.

The rapids ahead are going to be dangerous.

It is not certain that Arabs and Israelis can

ever get through their with their present gov-

ernments intact, if at all. But the attempt to

shoot those rapids is no longer avoidable. Both

boats have passed the point of no return.

From page 1

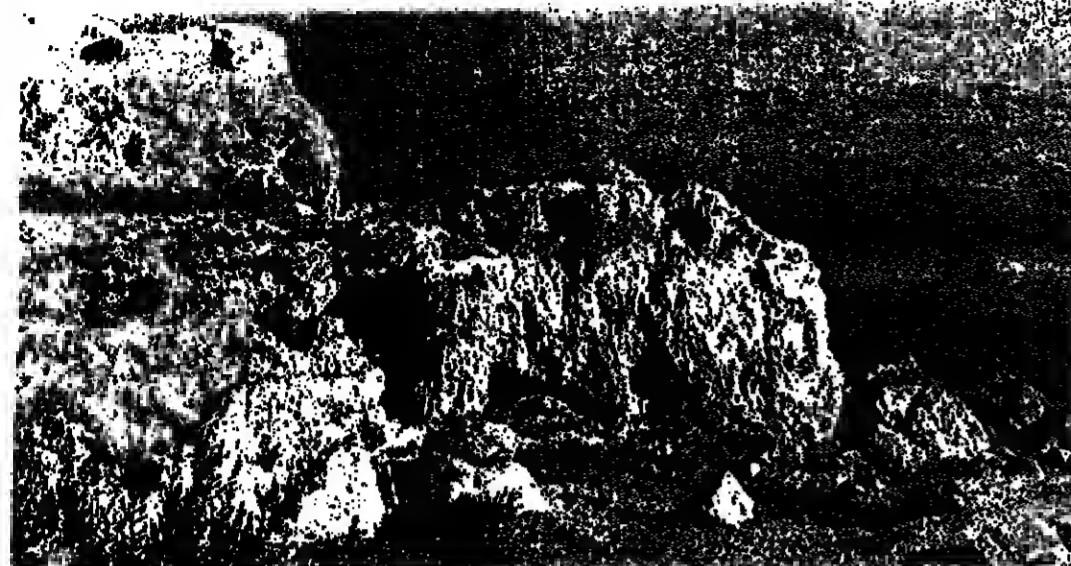
***Oil spill**

The Coast Guard has denied the charge, saying current cleanup equipment does not work in seas higher than three or four feet.

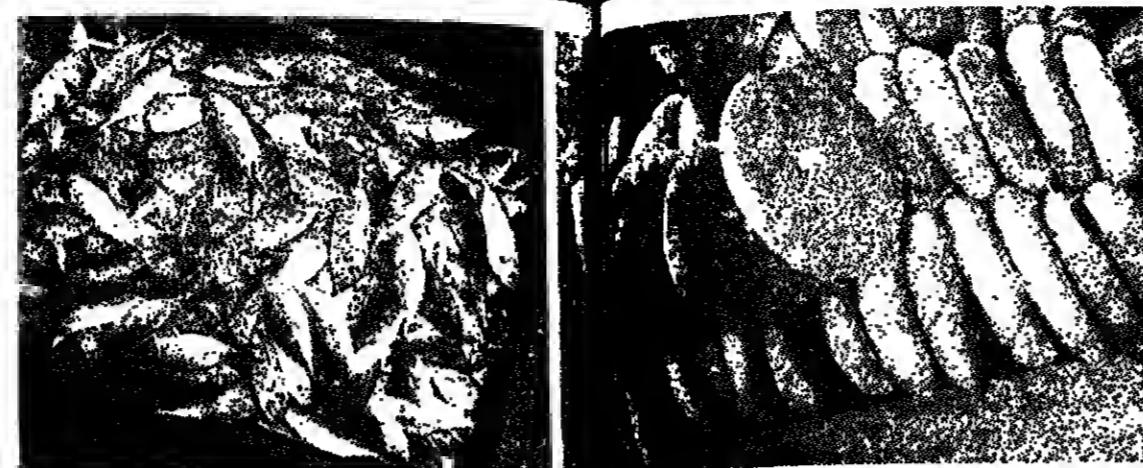
The tanker broke in half Dec. 21 after running aground on shoals off Nantucket on Dec. 15.

The Coast Guard had oil-contaminated booms capable of working in rough seas standing by in the early stages of the accident. But according to on-scene observers, it did not have

enough boats to tow the barges to the site of the spill.



Tabgha Bay, the spot at which some believe Jesus breakfasted with his disciples after the Resurrection

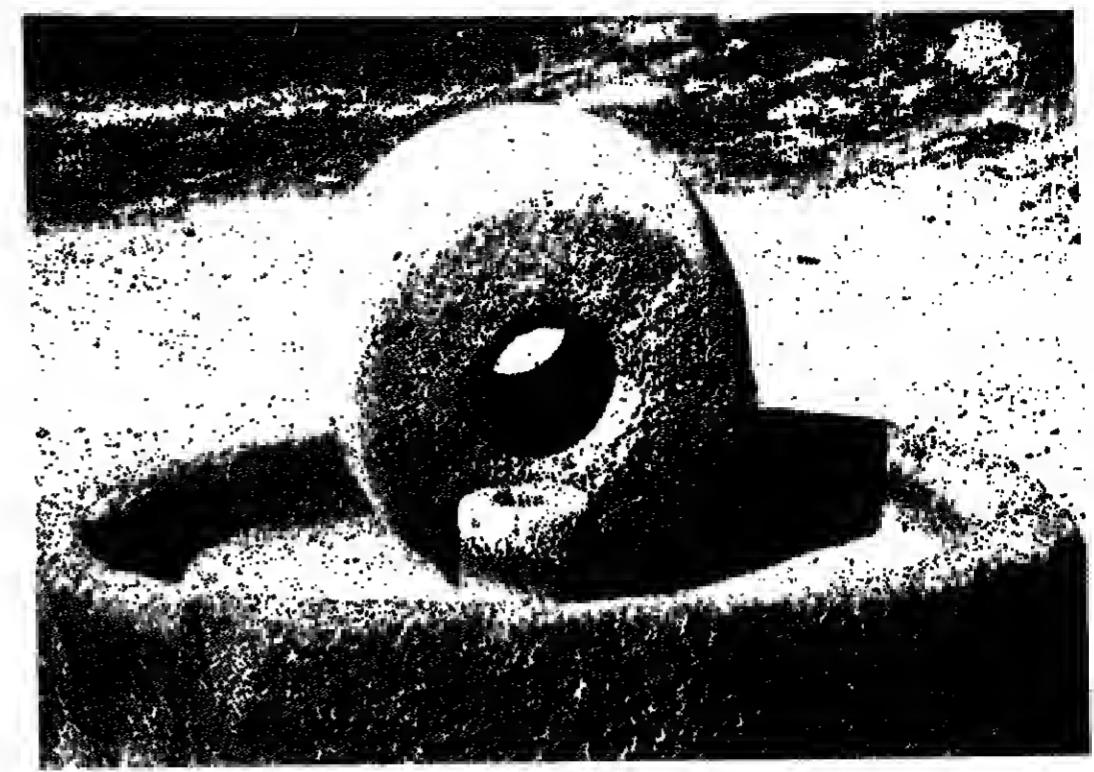


"St. Peter's fish" from the Sea of Galilee

Bread of Tiberias

"And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit to Galilee: and there went out a fame of him through all the country round about. And he taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all."

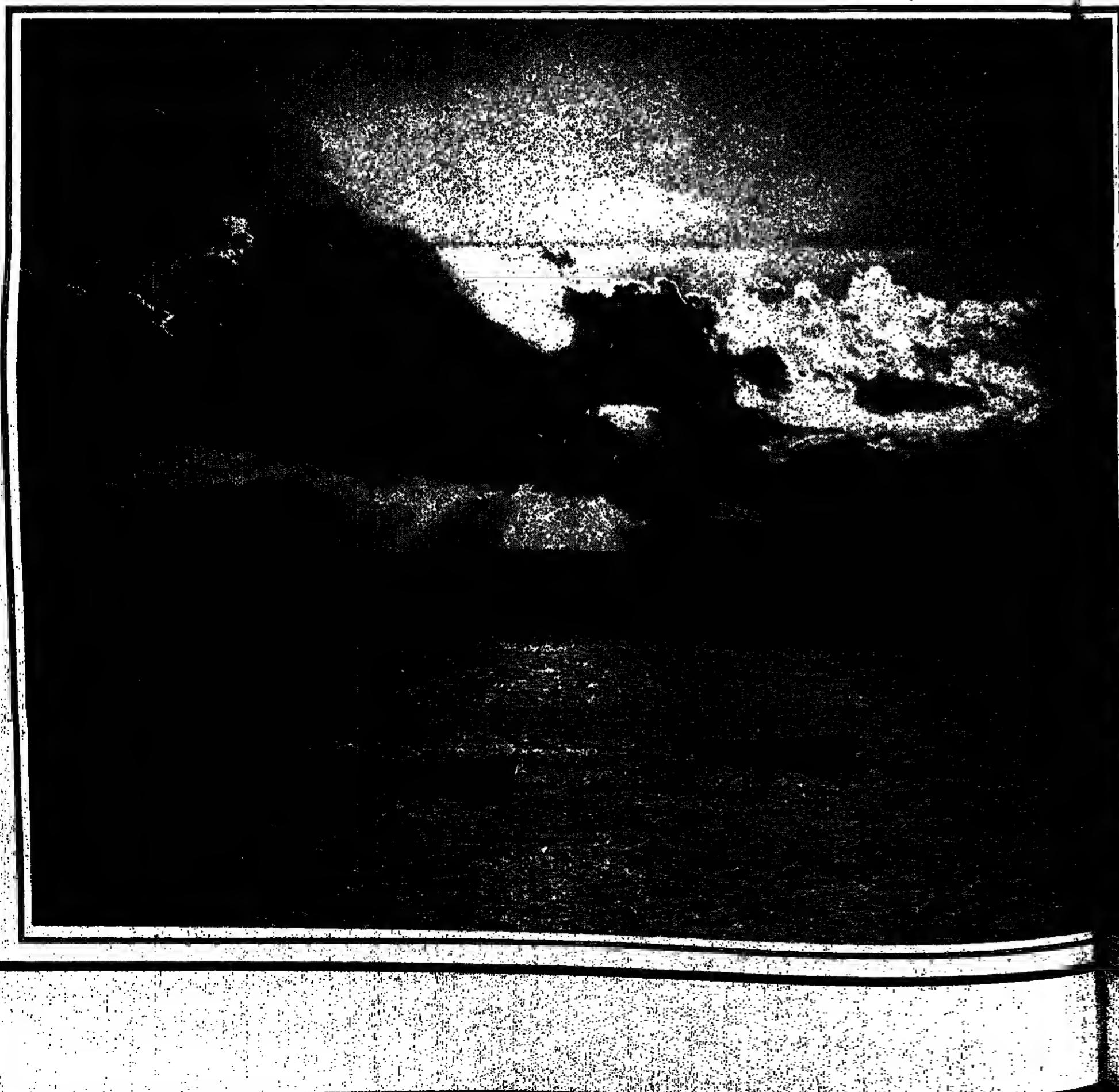
Luke 4:14, 15



An olive press at Capernaum

THE LAND OF JESUS Galilee

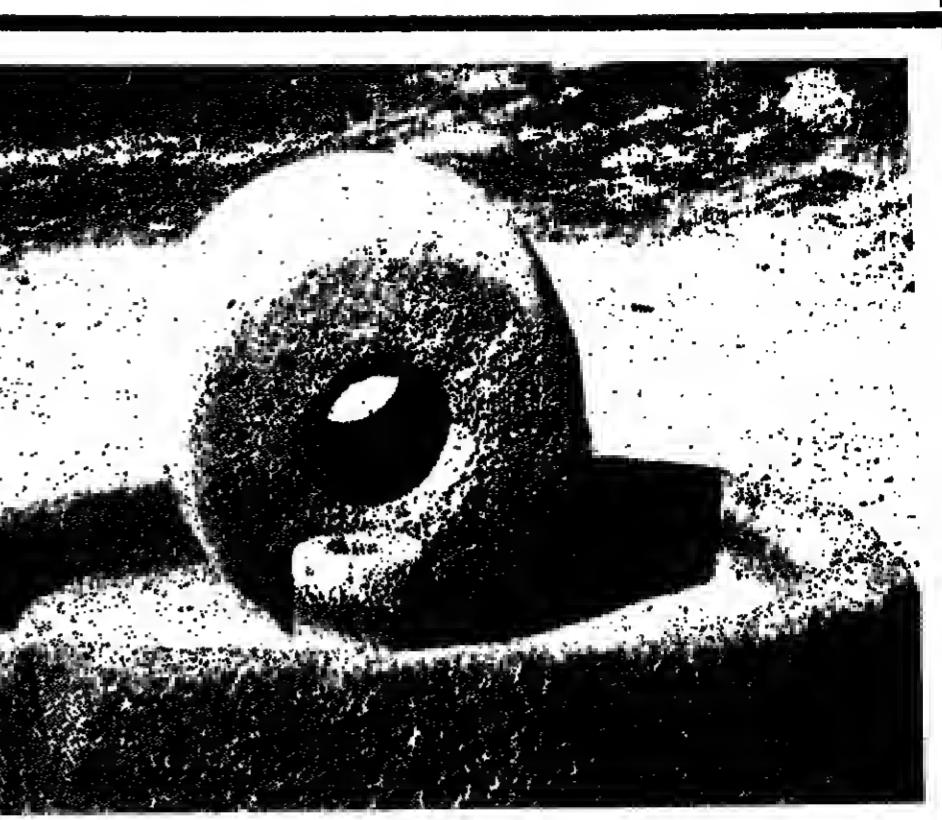
By Gordon N. Converse
Chief photographer of
The Christian Science Monitor



Mark records (Chapter 1:16-18) that it was when Jesus, walking by the Sea of Galilee, saw Simon Peter and his brother Andrew "casting a net into the sea" that he called them to become "fishers of men." Today "St. Peter's fish" are a staple in Galilee. A fisherman (left) returns to Tiberias at dawn with a night's catch.



Ruins of the synagogue at Capernaum, which may be on the site of the one in which Jesus preached



people

Interview with Indira Gandhi's cousin

India: 'a dictatorship — comparable to Hitler's Germany'

By Stewart Dill McBride
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Cambridge, Mass.
Nayantara Sahgal projects the strong but gentle presence so often associated with her uncle, the late Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister. But these days, the well-known Indian political journalist and novelist loses her patience when the subject turns to her country's retreat from democracy and the authoritarian regime of her cousin, Indira Gandhi, the present Prime Minister.

Mrs. Sahgal, who is emerging as one of the Indian Government's most outspoken critics, said in an interview here with the Monitor, that her homeland had become a "dictatorship ... comparable to Hitler's Germany."

"If you no longer have an avenue to disagree with government, if you can be put into jail for criticizing the government, if all your property can be confiscated, if your licks can be raised as reprisal for what you say, whatever you call it, an 'emergency' or the 'rise of fascism,' it is all the same."

"I think you can live very well and peacefully in India today if you keep your mouth shut. But that is, after all, not the way people who live by ideals can live," she continued.

Mrs. Sahgal is among the hundreds of Indians who have lost their homeland since June, 1975, when Mrs. Gandhi declared a national emergency and subsequently asked Parliament to rewrite portions of the Constitution to bolster her own political power, imprisoned thousands of her political opponents without trial, and imposed strict news censorship. This year as Prime Minister she has twice postponed the nation's general elections.

Arrived in U.S. last May

Mrs. Sahgal arrived last May in the U.S., where she has been a visiting research associate at the Radcliffe Institute and was putting the final touches on "a book about Mrs. Gandhi's emerging political style," when interviewed.

Critic of Intelligence

Mrs. Sahgal, already the author of some seven books (including "Prison and Chocolate Cake," the story of her childhood and India's struggle for independence), moved on the Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas, at the end of November where she is teaching a six-month creative writing course. Her plans after that are indefinite.

Criticism of Mrs. Gandhi from Mrs. Sahgal's side of the family is nothing new. In October Mrs. Sahgal's mother, Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit (Nehru's sister), told the New York Times, in an interview in India, that she was "profoundly troubled" with the direction Mrs. Gandhi was taking. Mrs. Pandit, who served as India's ambassador to the U.S. and Soviet Union and was the first woman president of the United Nations General Assembly, said:



By Barth J. Felsenberg, staff photographer
'You can live very well in India today if you keep your mouth shut'

"It is far more repressive today, in many ways, than it was under the British."

Now 76 years old and retired, Mrs. Pandit has avoided arrest largely because of her birthright and her previous political prominence. Mrs. Sahgal has no such protection and doubts whether she could return at this time without being arrested. Even in Cambridge, her activities were monitored by the Indian Government, she said.

Regime called 'artificial'

Mrs. Sahgal believes that the present authoritarian regime is "an artificial one," wholly apart from the Indian tradition of political diversity and tolerance. She maintains it is a product of Mrs. Gandhi's own personal weakness.

Mrs. Gandhi declared the "emergency" a few weeks after the High Court in her home

courtly recommended to me by someone I trust, I won't go to a club to hear a new act," he says.

The tape, he advises, had better be of good quality ("professional sounding"). For him original material is always interesting, but far from original.

Now let it sound as though no one could ever be discovered going this route, there is a recent story of a group called the Walter Murphy Band, newly signed by Utal. They have a million-selling record on the charts called "A Night of Beethoven," which was a disco version of the opening of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony.

"How did they get to Larry?" They dropped off a tape. They also left one at about every other studio in town. Some of the record companies never even listened to it. Fortunately for me, I did." Utal now is working with the group on a new album, which includes a funky rendition of "The Flight of the Bumblebee" by Rimsky-Korsakoff.

Despite the grim picture she paints, Mrs. Sahgal says she still holds hope for the return of democracy. She recalls "the bittersweet words of her uncle, Nehru, on the death of Mahatma Gandhi: '... the light has gone out of our lives, and there is darkness everywhere ... but this light shall return to shine for more than a thousand years.'

So you want to be a rock 'n' roll star

By Madeline McKeown

Boston
"So you want to be a rock 'n' roll star, then listen now to what I say. First, get an electric guitar ... and a synthesizer, and a backup vocal group, a manager, a gimmick."

Making it in the pop-music world is a little more complicated than when the Byrds were singing about rock 'n' roll stardom in the '60s. More and more, the pressure these days is to "make a record," and a hit record at that.

To do this, one needs to be signed by a record company, and to do that one has to be heard by someone like Larry Utal, the man who, among other things, discovered singer Barry Manilow and turned Bell Records into a million-dollar operation. Mr. Utal has recently started his own record company. His aim: "to be bigger than Bell, of course," he laughs.

Larry Utal is quick to explain that he is not a record producer. "I'm not the guy who goes into the studio and produces the record. I'm the guy who does that." You could call him a record director as he is the man that gets everyone — artists, engineers, etc. — together to produce the final product, a record. He also takes part in the handling, or packaging, of the artist.

"Packaging is very important," he explains. "Making sure the recording has a high standard of quality, the timing on when the album is released, the promotional graphics as well as the artwork on the album cover, it all counts. Of course, a well-packaged, no-talent person can't go far." On the other hand, Mr. Utal avers that "a talented person badly presented or mismanaged can get lost in the shuffle."

Mr. Utal is not the flashy PR type one usually envisions in the recording industry. A native New Yorker, he jumped from having a retail store in women's sportswear to part ownership in a song publishing firm to 12 years with Bell Records, and now is involved in a joint venture with EMI records, Private Stock Records. He is bluntly honest about some of the people he has recorded, saying, of one, "The public liked the packaging. Now we'll see if they like what's inside."

He says he signs all his recording artists by using his instinct. ("I rely heavily on it, and so far, it's worked.") But to be heard by Larry Utal or just about anyone else in a similar position, one has to make a tape and make the rounds to all the record companies. The idea is that simply, by the law of averages, someone will hear it. "Unless a group has been specific

to the artist, or engineer, or producer, or anything, we're really in a friendless period, and I think we probably will be for some time. So anything can be a hit."

town of Allahabad found her guilty on June 12, 1975, of illegally using government officials during her successful 1971 campaign for re-election to Parliament. Her conviction, coupled with general frustration in India over the economy, sparked mass rallies and demands for Mrs. Gandhi's resignation. In what she maintained was an attempt to save Indian democracy from internal subversion and instill discipline, Mrs. Gandhi clamped the "emergency," which is still in effect today.

Mrs. Sahgal says, "Any change in the situation will most likely come from within her own party, unless of course it comes from violence. And when you close all the legitimate avenues of protest, stop letting people express themselves through the press, you've blocked all the safety valves, and it explodes in violence, which can only mean replacing one dictator with another," says Mrs. Sahgal. She adds that large nonviolent demonstrations against the government occurred early this year but were never reported in the Indian or foreign press.

While Mrs. Gandhi recently released a number of her jailed opponents, continued censorship of news has effectively muzzled critics. "A political party needs to be able to speak its views to be able to object to what is happening in Parliament," says Mrs. Sahgal. "The censorship has put Indian society right back into the Middle Ages. Now we have to wait for news from travelers, such as someone coming from Bombay who tells us that there has been a meeting or there was a protest."

All of the "emergency" measures Mrs. Gandhi has enacted have been constitutionally sanctioned, and she has acted "within the four corners of the Constitution," admits Mrs. Sahgal, who adds: "But so did Hitler. For each step he took, he invoked some article of the Weimar Constitution."

Critic of Intelligence

Mrs. Sahgal is particularly frustrated with the failure of India's intelligentsia to resist Mrs. Gandhi's regime. "I found people who had been to college in India, who would say, 'Oh, Mrs. Gandhi is not a dictator. She has cleaned up the streets and stopped the strikes so we can produce more.' But that is exactly what the educated Germans said in Hitler's time. They didn't discover until after the war, when all the atrocities came out, what Hitler had been doing all those years."

One of Mrs. Gandhi's acts which most disturbs Mrs. Sahgal (as well as some of Mrs. Gandhi's staunchest supporters) is the rocketing of her 29-year-old son Sanjay into a position of prominent political power. While the young businessman holds no elective office, overnight he has become a de facto Cabinet minister and heir apparent.

Mrs. Sahgal says rumors that Sanjay now is controlling his mother from behind the scenes are "quite possible." But it is not as simple as that. While Mrs. Gandhi poses as the radical to satisfy demands for change, he [Sanjay] is able to keep business and industry happy because of his well-known anti-Communist views," she says. Mrs. Gandhi's alliance with India's Communist Party, as well as her friendship with the Soviets, is a bond "not of ideology, but of political opportunism," says Mrs. Sahgal.

Mrs. Sahgal is quick to stress India's previously unique position in Asia as the world's most populous democracy. "We took the road less traveled by. We achieved our freedom [from the British] without violence. It was fought in the open. There was never an element of hatred or conspiracy. We arrived at independence without hatred."

"India has everything to go against democracy, particularly the large portions of its people who cannot read. But we will make it a democracy by giving it our dedication. We shall make something where it is out," says Mrs. Sahgal.

Despite the grim picture she paints, Mrs. Sahgal says she still holds hope for the return of democracy. She recalls "the bittersweet words of her uncle, Nehru, on the death of Mahatma Gandhi: '... the light has gone out of our lives, and there is darkness everywhere ... but this light shall return to shine for more than a thousand years.'

Do galaxies collide in space?

By David F. Salisbury
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Itational titles produced when one galaxy is "hit" by an intruder in a collision that lasts hundreds of millions of years stir the dust and gases in the galactic disk into an outward expanding ring of newborn stars.

"They are such strikingly beautiful objects," Professor Spiegel explains when asked why he began studying ring galaxies. Also, he says, the rings are an unstable form for galaxies to take. Therefore, they must be only hundreds of millions of years old, a mere eyewink compared to the 10 billion years astronomers allow to the period of galaxy formation.

Depending on how two galaxies collide, three different types of rings can be formed, the scientists believe. One is a perfect ring with a dark interior. A second type has a star cluster off center inside the ring. The third kind has a dense knot of stars on one side of the ring it self.

Reporting in a recent issue of the *Astrophysical Journal*, the two argue that grav-



How ring galaxies form

The first drawing shows an intruder galaxy approaching the flat of a disk galaxy. In the second the intruder pierces the disk dispersing matter from its center. The collision stirs dust and gases into an outward expanding ring of stars (first drawing). The intruder then forms a companion galaxy.

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'Harmless' chemicals may not be

Pollution formed in air from everyday cleaners

By Robert C. Cowen
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

may have detected infrared (heat) rays from these stars in one ring galaxy.

As the star-studded rings decay, they bend and finally break down into a number of smaller galaxies, according to the computer simulation. The process takes 500 to 600 million years, says Professor Spiegel.

The computer program also predicts that after "some billions of years" these smaller galaxies eventually merge into a concentrated ball of stars and gases. These stellar conglomerations may ultimately turn into quasars, the most energetic objects yet found in the cosmos.

public in saying that. He knows of no immediate threat of direct poisoning. But he feels people must awaken to the fact that harmless chemicals can turn into poisons that, even in low concentrations, might have chronic harmful effects.

Tonnages substantial

Bohdan

home

Put it on wheels and away it goes

By Marilyn Hoffman
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York
Slide it under. Push it away. Draw it up. Pull it to another room.

Mobility for furniture is the demand of many households today. Casters, which can be added by anyone, any time, provide the answer. They swivel easily and move freely in any direction to make furniture more flexible in use, and therefore more practical. Easily movable furniture makes housework and entertaining easier and adds to the convenience and pleasure of everyday living.

Casters can be added to coffee tables, bedside tables, cribs, children's furniture, sofas, occasional and upholstered chairs, sewing machines, footstools, cabinets, TV stands, dressers, record cabinets, planters, wood boxes, bookcases, or whatever.

Discuss your needs with any friendly salesman at a good hardware store. Before making the selection, consider the size of the caster in proportion to the size of the furniture to which it will be attached, and the degree of mobility desired. There is a selection guide on each box.

Select casters, too, for the type of floor on which they will be used. Metal tread casters move best on carpets. Rubber tread casters are best for hardwood and tile floors. Thermoplastic casters can be used on both carpet and some hard surface floors. And these come in different colors such as beige, brown, frost white, and black. Metal casters come in several finishes, such as satin chrome, bright chrome, bright brass, satin brass, antique copper.

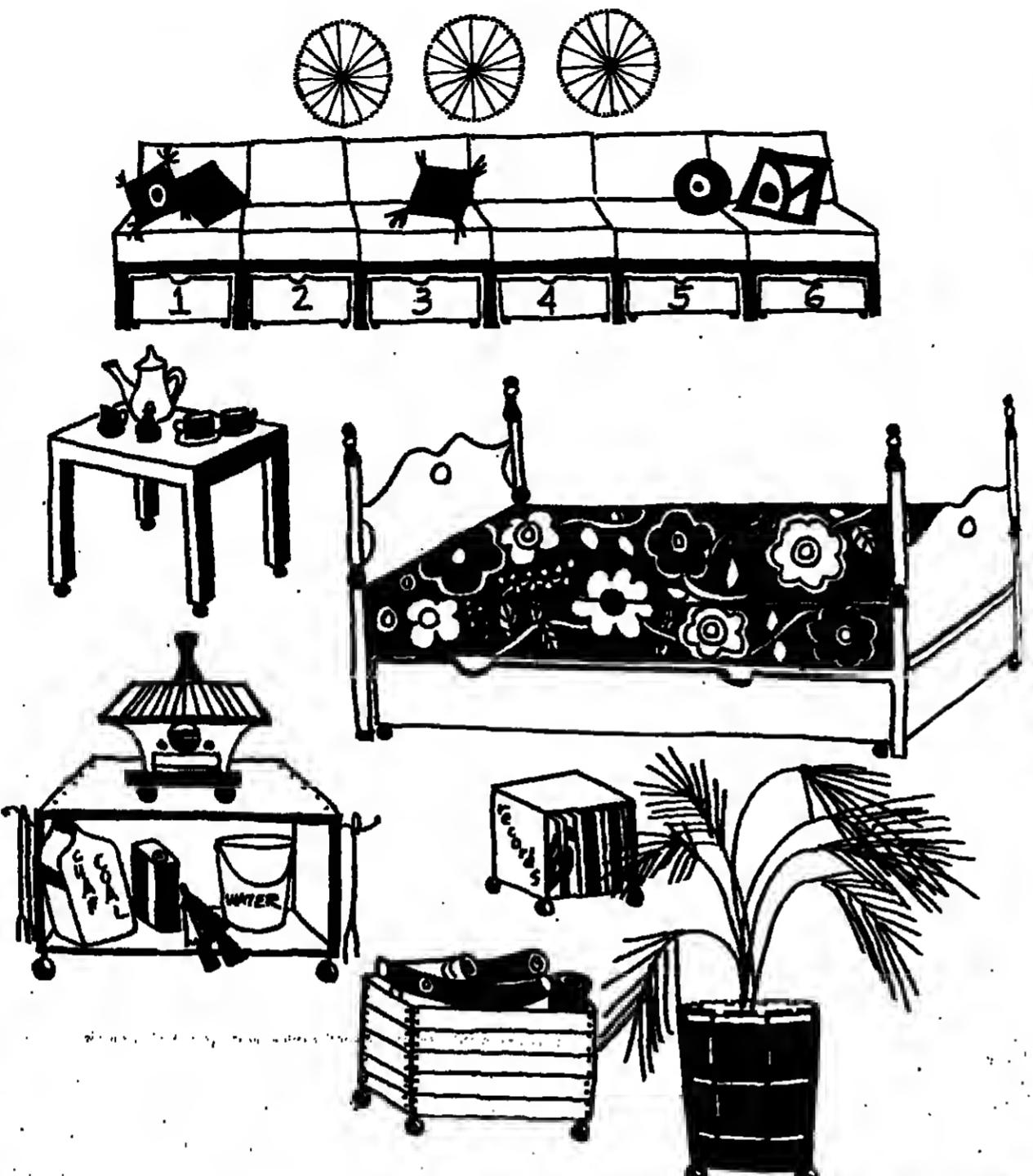
One clever father has constructed an unusual seating area along one wall of the basement playroom. He used two old flat doors as the base for two slab cushions of foam rubber slipcovered with coffee corduroy in bright red. The door-cushions were suspended on two-inch-by-four-inch block legs. The open area beneath was considered the toy "garage." But to make the toys easily accessible, and for quick order and organizing, the father built a series of wood box bins and set them on casters. These can be easily rolled in and out of the storage garage. That way the games, blocks, books, dolls, and toy cars are kept separated. And the children can do a quick cleanup on short notice of the playroom when mother sounds the alert. (top sketch).

Another father, in an effort to provide sleeping space for his young daughter's overnight guests, fashioned a plywood trundle bed to slide under his youngster's four-poster bed. It is a simple box, big enough to encase a single foam rubber mattress, mounted on casters.

At lower left are wooden crates, mounted on casters, to store logs for the fireplace and to house barbecue equipment and a barbecue grille. Such rolling crates also make good toy boxes.

Heavy plants need moving around from patio or terrace back to hallway or living room and what's more help than a planter, or planter platform, on casters?

One homemaker bought a series of unfinished Parsons ta-



Sketches by Ann Mathews

Provide household mobility with casters on everything from tables to planters'

bles in various sizes, mounted them on casters, lacquered them white, and now uses them for a variety of purposes — serving tea as shown here (middle left), to hold plants in front of a window, as a behind-the-sofa table which must also sometimes double for supper buffets.

The point to remember is that casters can add as much as two inches to the height of a piece. The helpful hardware man can help you figure out instructions on the package and advise on the best type of caster for the weight it must support, and the type of floor on which it will be used.

The ultimate in hors d'oeuvres

A fancy spread for the holiday table

By a staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Pâté is chilled overnight before slicing. This version is best served on plates.

Pâté en croute

1 tablespoon (1 envelope) unflavored gelatin
1 (8-ounce) can (16% ounces) beef consomme
1 hard-cooked egg, shelled and sliced
6 pimento-stuffed olives, sliced
1/2 pound (8 ounces) liverwurst
3 tablespoons finely chopped green onion
1 teaspoon fresh lemon juice
1/4 teaspoon grated lemon rind
Dash liquid red pepper seasoning

Liver Pâté Tart

Soften gelatin in 1/2 cup of the consomme in a small saucepan. Heat and stir over medium heat until gelatin is dissolved; add remaining consomme. Pour into a measuring cup. Pour 1/2 cup consomme mixture into 2-cup mold which has been placed in a bowl of ice and water. Swirl gently until rest of hot gelatin holds up inside mold.

Arrange center egg slices and 8 to 10 of the olive slices on bottom, and part way up sides. Spoon 1/2 cup consomme mixture over layers.

Cut bread slices into quarters; press each square into a buttered miniature tart pan. Blend remaining ingredients, stirring until blended. Spoon about 1 teaspoon braunschweiger mixture into each tart. Refrigerate until serving time. Garnish with chopped parsley or paprika. Makes 16.

Three festive spreads for company add remaining ingredients, stirring until blended. Spoon about 1 teaspoon braunschweiger mixture into each tart. Refrigerate until serving time. Garnish with chopped parsley or paprika. Makes 16.

For a more decorative presentation, a pâté can be molded with beet consomme, olives, and hard-cooked eggs. It's firm yet spreadable.

If you're adventurous, take the time to prepare the most elegant of all — pâté en croute. A layered filling of ground meats, cooked chicken strips and herbs is wrapped in a flaky crescent roll dough before baking. The baked



France spurs businessmen to pursue foreign trade

With several decades of European business working behind him, Philip Whitcomb looks at how France is fighting its current economic malaise. Second in a two-part series.

By Philip W. Whitcomb
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris
French Government economists see the relevance of medium and small businesses to compete aggressively for foreign trade as a key cause of France's shortfall in exports.

These firms are the cautious majority of the 14 million registered businesses in France. Most of them are family owned.

The government has been working hard to stimulate and aid these potential exporters. Efforts to set up export groups have been present and include the following advisory organizations:

• The French Center for Foreign Trade includes 14 provincial branches provide information and aid in establishing contacts everywhere abroad.

• The French Insurance Company for Foreign Trade, also a Paris-based government agency, with seven provincial branches provides protection for exporters.

• The French Banks for Foreign Trade, with provincial offices, arrange export financing. The government's Institute of Industrial Development (IDF) guides firms that are in difficulties though basically sound and it necessary to share a firm to provide capital.

• The reassuring aspect is historical. The franc has been devolved more than 20 times since 1944 and, valued by the contemporary dollars of that year and of 1976, has shrunk to less than one-fifth of its 1914 value.

But the physical resources of France still exceed those of any other European country.

Its individual scientists and technicians are unsurpassed. Its workers are among the most unionized in the world, and work well.

The official motto of the City of Paris may well be applied to all of France. Freely translated, it reads, "Rocks about a bit, but never sinks."

• The award went to Laurent Boix Vives, a self-educated man who 21 years ago took over the management of a little struggling family-owned firm in a small town in southwest France. The company makes the Rossignol ski. This year 22 percent of all the skis bought in the world will have been Rossignol.

The new psychological approach also includes blunt statements of fact. This shift away from the gaullian axiom, "affirmations of greatness create greatness," may scatter some of the pink clouds that have been obscuring the public's view of the economic situation. The shift has been evident in precise economic warnings by President Valery Giscard d'Estaing.

Two aspects of the current economic crisis may be noted as vital, one alarming, one reassuring.

• The alarming aspect is evident in the increasingly vindictive declarations of socialist, Communist, and far-Left leaders, who between them have been winning an average of 32 percent of the votes in by-elections. They say that social justice — a burning issue with French voters — and economic stability can never be achieved until the present capitalist structure is replaced or destroyed.

• The reassuring aspect is historical. The



By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Brimming harvest bins line Argentina's Rio de la Plata

Why steaks aren't quite as thick in Argentina

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Buenos Aires
If wheat and corn prices were higher, Argentina's economic prospects would be looking better.

But the world price on most grains is down sharply just when Argentina is likely to have its biggest wheat crop ever.

The harvest under way is expected to yield 12 million tons. It could go to 14 million if conditions continue as favorable as they were in the first two weeks of the harvest.

When this crop was sown, the world market price for wheat was around \$140 a ton; now it is about \$95 owing to a worldwide glut in the grain.

For Argentina, this means less foreign earnings, a continuing high treasury deficit, and little tax relief in the year ahead, despite the strenuous efforts of Economy Minister José Alfredo Martínez de Hoz to bring some order out of the economic chaos he inherited last March. That was when the Argentine military seized power and removed President María Estela Martínez de Perón.

• Dr. Martínez de Hoz has accomplished a great deal in the past eight months, bringing the economy back from near-collapse.

• A slowing of the inflation rate from a whopping 800 percent per year to one of about 150 percent. The 1977 rate may be held to 120 percent.

• A move out of recession, which in the first quarter of the year was a 3.5 percent decrease in gross domestic product, to a slight increase for the final quarter, as well as a cut in the federal budget deficit from 13 to 5 percent.

• A significant improvement in the foreign debt picture — from defaulting on loans in early 1976 to a situation now that Dr. Martínez de Hoz calls "perfectly in order."

All this should be good for Argentines. But the average worker, the man on the street, the small farmer, has yet to see the results in his own life. To slow the inflation rate, Dr. Martínez de Hoz adopted an austerity policy, including wage freezes that have been lifted only slightly on two occasions, in July and September, to permit slight pay boosts.

A third increase, likely to total something between 15 and 20 percent, is due in early January.

In a broad-ranging interview, Dr. Martínez de Hoz admitted that the crunch in his program hits the average wage earner, who has a difficult time recognizing the improving economic picture when his own pay envelope does not stretch so far as it used to. He becomes rather cynical, particularly as he hears about the tremendous grain harvest expected this year.

BUSINESS HIGHLIGHT

Irish woo Merrill Lynch

Dublin

The Republic of Ireland hopes to attract the world's largest stockbroking firm, Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner, and Smith of New York, to set up new headquarters here.

Merrill Lynch International has taken no decision yet on the possibility of going Irish. But this decision may be swayed by the Irish Government's intent of extending tax exemption to cover service industries' export profits as well as those from manufacturing.

Merrill Lynch could bring 700 well-paid jobs to Ireland. As well, Ireland hopes the thundering herd could lead a rush of financial institutions and money into a country which loudly welcomes outside investment — and just as loudly dissociates itself from nationalization schemes currently driving money away from neighboring Britain.

sports



The men were left out in the cold as Sports Illustrated chose Chris Evert (left) for its 1976 top athlete award and specially cited six other women. The others (left to right): top row — Dorothy Hamill, Rosi Mittermaier, Nadia Comaneci; bottom row — Judy Rankin, Sheila Young, Kornelia Ender

Photos by Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer & AP

Chris Evert win sends Bruce Jenner to the showers

By Ross Atkin
Sports writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Just when a lot of people were expecting to see Olympic decathlon champion Bruce Jenner splashed across the cover of Sports Illustrated, the magazine's editors have thrown readers off-balance with an unexpected change-up. Jenner not only lost out in SI's athlete of the year sweepstakes, he didn't even make the final best.

Instead, Chris Evert was made "Sportswoman of the Year" and six other outstanding women athletes were named honorable mention members of "Evert's court." They are Rosi Mittermaier, Sheila Young, Dorothy Hamill, Kornelia Ender, Nadia Comaneci, and Judy Rankin. There were several more candidates — Jenner, Tony Dorsett, Joe Morgan, Julius Erving, and Jack Nicklaus — but they essentially were passed over in the special year-end issue.

As to why the more traditional "Sportsman" award was shelved for at least another 12 months, Jane Gleichrist, SI's press information

director, said, "Our editors thought it was a great year for men, but a spectacular one for women."

"Actually Chris is our Athlete of the Year. We just don't call it that because the award is for more than just winning," Evert, fittingly enough, was also recognized for "the quality and grace under pressure — of greater athletic impact than . . .

• Bruce Jenner's record-setting Olympic decathlon triumph, in which he impersonated a blonde man by running the 100 meters in 10.94, high jumping 6ft. 8in., and pole vaulting 15-9 — not to mention solid efforts in seven other events.

• Joe Morgan's back-to-back selection as the most valuable player in baseball's National League. The epitome of the all-around player, Morgan has been the consistent superior of teammate Pete Rose, SI's 1976 "Sportsman."

• Tony Dorsett's ground-gaining odyssey with the top-ranked University of Pittsburgh football team. "T.D." not only became the first player to gain 6,000 yards in a career, he waltzed away with the coveted Heisman

Trophy and turned a dilapidated program around.

So these were the leading men Evert had to hurdle en route to Sports Illustrated's cover, her first solo on the front. Twice before she shared the spotlight with former beau Jimmy Connors.

Chris posed for the picture last month in London, donning a copy of the Victoria dress Maude Watson wore in winning Wimbledon in 1884. The mood is "you've come a long way, baby," which of course, is the rallying cry of a major women's tennis sponsor.

SI actually took its first big step toward "decimating" the publication when in 1972 Billie Jean King was named Sportswoman and UCLA basketball coach John Wooden Sportsman of the year. Such dual recognition, publisher Jack Meyers noted, was "not likely to be repeated." It hasn't been.

Auto racing champion Jackie Stewart earned the honor in 1973, Muhammad Ali in 1974, and Rose last year.

Through the years, a number of women might have been in contention if chauvinistic barriers had not stood in their way. Among the names which must readily come to mind are Wilma Rudolph, Mickey Wright, and Althea Gibson.

Rudolph was the long-striding sprinter who became the first American woman to win three Olympic track and field gold medals at Rome in 1960. Wright, who is credited with ushering in a new era in women's golf, led the LPGA tour five consecutive years. Gibson, the first black to achieve prominence in the tennis court, swept the Wimbledon and U.S. Open titles in 1977.

With more and more women seriously competing in athletics, and greater press recognition extended to those who do, 1976 saw a strong contingent of females glitter on the international sports scene.

During 1961-65, Maj. Norman Walker of the Confederate States of America occupied this

Soviet skaters hardly get a chance to warm their feet

By Voronina A. Ragatz
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Figure skating is a way of life for the world and Olympic Pairs Champions Irina Rodnina and Alexander Zaitsev.

When not training or competing, the Soviet skaters perform in exhibitions which leave audiences shouting for more.

The couple recently had five guest performances in Ottawa at Skate-Canada, an international invitational competition which drew skaters from 11 countries. Rodnina and Zaitsev spoke with reporters one evening in an unusually relaxed and light-hearted mood.

Irina has won eight World titles and two Olympic gold medals during some 20 years of skating. She started on blades at the age of eight when her mother took her to a local Moscow rink where an instructor took her over and said, "We'll see what we can do."

Irina was strictly a singles skater until 1966, when she was matched up with Alexei Ulanov, her first partner. Two years later she won the World Pairs title vacated by fellow countrymen Ludmila and Oleg Protopopov.

They went to win three more World titles and an Olympic gold medal before Alexei left Irina to skate with another partner whom he eventually married.

After much deliberation, Zaitsev was chosen to skate with Irina in 1972. They were married in Moscow after the 1976 World Championships.

held at the Broadmoor resort in Colorado Springs.

Together, the couple have won four Worlds and an Olympic gold medal. In spite of such an impressive record, they have no immediate plans to retire. "We'll skate until we're exhausted," Irina said with a laugh.

Sasha, as her husband is called, began skating at the age of seven in Leningrad. Now 25, he has skated singles and pairs, and has dabbed in ice hockey "for fun."

The couple skates about six hours a day in summer, working on new moves and programs, and four hours a day in the winter. They choose their music and do choreography together with their accomplished coach, Tatjana Tarasova.

Off the ice, Irina likes to go shopping, listening to music, going to the theater, and visiting friends.

When they travel, Irina likes to go shopping, but says she has trouble finding clothes because she is so small (4 ft. 11 in. and 103 lbs.). During our interview, however, she was attractively dressed in dark brown, velvet pants and an orange-colored fur jacket.

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Rodnina and Zaitsev both graduated from a physical culture institute in Moscow, yet they are combining their studies at the graduate level, he in the psychology of sport and she in history.

When questioned as to what kind of history, she said, "History of skating, of course."

Asked if they ever get bored skating, Irina, who did most of the talking during the conversation emphatically said no. Her career has been long, but "quite varied." She has skated singles and pairs, had two partners and two different coaches. "There is always something new," she explained. "I enjoy it very much."

One thing Irina would like to do is gain more "self-control." Despite years of competition, she says she still feels nervous before skating.

Rodnina and Zaitsev consider the other Russian pairs and the East Germans to be their strongest competitive challengers, although they also rank the U.S. Pairs Champions, Tatjana and Randy Gardner as "very good."

They expect the latter to place in the top three this year in international competition.

Although many feel Rodnina and Zaitsev's recent competition programs have been lackluster, their exhibition programs seem to be well-rehearsed. The couple enjoys skating before audiences at exhibitions and presents near-flawless performances.

Their movements are crisp and precise. No matter how difficult or daring, they are performed with assurance and style.

For exhibitions Irina and her husband usually skate to Russian folk music such as "Russia Love You" and "Kalinka."

What would Irina and Sasha like to do when they eventually stop competing? That remains to be seen, but whatever it will definitely relate to skating.

travel

Australia: more there than kangaroos and koalas

By Leavitt F. Morris
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Sydney, Australia
Australia, the land of kangaroos and lovable looking, teddy-bear-like koalas, is increasingly becoming a popular travel destination for those who want to leave the Northern Hemisphere winter. That's especially so for people on cruise vacations: Each year, it seems, more cruise ships are sailing to South Pacific ports, with Sydney as a destination.

Latest ship to announce stops in Australia is Russia's M/S *Mikhail Lermontov*, which is offering two sailings soon, one from Panama in January, 1977, and one from the U.S. West Coast in spring. (Passengers wishing to take the first cruise must make their own arrangements to fly to Panama.)

The 14- to 37-day cruises (duration of journey depends upon port of embarkation) will call at such exotic places as Acapulco, Tahiti, Rarotonga, and Auckland en route to Sydney.

The Panania trip leaves on January 15, arriving at Sydney February 5. The second sailing leaves from Vancouver, February 26; Seattle, February 27; San Francisco, March 3; Los Angeles, March 8, with arrival in Sydney on April 4.

Rates for these Russian-sponsored South Pacific cruises are in the bargain category — minimums are: from Panama \$585; \$1,080 from San Francisco/Los Angeles; or \$1,145 from Vancouver/Sydney.

Cruise passengers arriving at Sydney will

find the Circular Quay or Sydney Bay the ideal place to sample the life of this city of three million people. Especially, there will be time to visit Bennelong point, a 5½ acre peninsula

where stands one of the most famous structures of the modern world, the Sydney Opera House.

Considered the country's most outstanding

cultural monument, its white mosaic-tiled

roofs cover a complex of four performing

halls, including a concert hall with a 2,700 seat

capacity as well as exhibition, reception,

and recording halls.

There are daily guided tours costing \$1.50

for adults, which take in Sydney's major

attractions, including the impressive span of the

Sydney Harbor Bridge.

For those with the time and a spirit of ad-

venture I recommend a trip to Alice Springs

in the "outback country" and then on to Ayers

Rock, the largest monolith in the world. I

made this trip a number of years ago and still

remember it as one of the highlights of my

world travels.

Australia's outback, with its huge cattle

stations of a couple of million acres, makes the

King Ranch in Texas, one Aussie told me, look

like a pocket handkerchief.

Alice Springs, in the center of this area is

a frontier town, reminding me of some of the

cattle towns in North Dakota and Montana. It

has some modern accommodations and a mu-

nicipal swimming pool. One of the town's

proudest attractions, though, is a war me-

morial on a height of land with sweeping views

of the "hush."

From Alice Springs you can get to Ayers

Rock either by small plane or bus; it's a dis-

tance of about 250 miles.

When I first spotted Ayers Rock from the air

some 20 miles away, it looked like a huge

sleeping elephant. But as I approached it, the

Rock rose ominously in front of the plane to a

height of 1,143 feet. In midday it takes on a

a dull bronze or rust color. At sunrise, it is trans-

formed into a mammoth gold nugget.

Ayers Rock is about a seven-mile trip

around the base, and it can be climbed along

the slopes on the western face. Many tourists do

this each year but I prefer to look at its flat

surface from the comfortable seat of the little

bus that circles over the top.

Visitors interested in this trip must be pre-

pared to pay a substantial amount for the flight

to Alice Springs and Ayers Rock from any of

Australia's major cities. However, if you're

bent on doing something different and seeing

an area visited by relatively few tourists you

will probably consider the money well spent.

Travel documents needed to visit Australia

are a valid passport and visa, required for na-

tionalities of most countries who plan to stay

longer than three days. Currency is the Austra-

lian dollar (A\$1 = US\$0.05).



Courtesy of Australian Tourist Commission

Ayers Rock — you can't miss it

Bermuda's 'Confederate' mansion

By Arthur H. Posture Jr.
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

St. George's, Bermuda
On a tree-shaded, quiet corner of Old St. George's Towne, Bermuda's 387-year-old colonial capital, stands a 1700s mansion where the Stars and Bars flag of the Confederate States

Confederacy flew proudly in the breeze.

This is the old Globe Hotel, today a museum open daily except Sunday; 50 cents admission. Operated by the Bermuda National Trust, U.S. Civil War buffs will enjoy the many historical exhibits which fill this Bermuda landmark.

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became the first American woman to win three Olympic track and field gold medals at Rome in 1960. Wright, who is credited with ushering in a new era in women's golf, led the LPGA tour five consecutive years. Gibson, the first black to achieve prominence in the tennis court, swept the Wimbledon and U.S. Open titles in 1977.

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arts/books

Truffaut: Filmmaker to the world

By David Sterritt

New York

I asked the hotel switchboard operator for Mr. Truffaut's name. "Truffaut," she asked. "Francis?" she continued. "That's the one, I told her."

Francis Truffaut hasn't yet become a household word in the grand style, like his hero, Alfred Hitchcock. But he has been traveling in that direction for a couple of decades, turning out some of the world's best-loved films from "Shoot the Piano Player" to "Day for Night," from "Jules and Jim" to this year's "Small Change."

And now he's about in become a movie star, to the country that invented movie stars! His latest project is a major role in "Close Encounters of the Third Kind," a science-fiction epic from Hollywood's Steven (Jaws") Spielberg. It marks Truffaut's first performance, in America or anywhere else, in a film by another filmmaker.

Totally trusting

Columbia Pictures has lowered an unusual veil of secrecy over the \$16 million "Close Encounters," so I ask Truffaut if there is anything he can reveal about his part in it. "I play a French scientist who is fascinated in flying saucers," comes the answer. "That's not just all I can tell you, it's all I know!"

It turns out that Truffaut took the attitude of "totally trusting" his American director. He read the script only once, many weeks before shooting began; never asked Spielberg about major changes made later; never even watched the daily footage, because he didn't want to be frustrated by his lack of control over the film. "So I'll be the first one to be surprised when I see the picture," he smiles.

Truffaut points out that "Close Encounters" is costing 10 times the amount of his own effort, "Fahrenheit 451." But he has no ambitions to make a big-budget picture himself. "I think I am not a showman," he muses. "I'm interested in characters. I came to understand a great deal about myself while working on the Spielberg picture."

"If I was filming us now," he says, with a sweeping gesture that includes him, his interviewer, and his translator, "I would put us against the wall and show what we were saying to each other. But Spielberg would put



Between scenes of his film 'Small Change,' Truffaut watches one of the Deluca brothers test a camera rangefinder

the actors against a window, and behind the window he'd have helicopters flying around.

"The important thing is that he does it admirably well. When you make a picture for \$16 million, the important thing is that you ace this amount of money reflected on the screen."

I picked easy things

Truffaut feels that many of today's under-30 directors are better at this sort of thing than their predecessors a decade or so ago.

As for himself, "Even as an actor, when I created my own pictures, I picked very easy things that I could do, I said that I could only do violent people who film things that are too violent. Whereas Spielberg forced me to do things I didn't think I could..."

In his latest picture, the child-poem "Small Change," Truffaut coaxed heady performances from a cast consisting largely of children. The movie centers on the idea that children live in a sort of "state of grace," and that a difficult childhood can pay off by making a person stronger in later life. "Truffaut's own childhood was very rocky, as his highly personal first film — 'The 400 Blows' — demonstrates.

Adventure with a child

"All the episodes in 'Small Change' illustrate the idea that children are very resilient," the director says. "Sentimentally, one is tremen-

dously moved by the troubles of children; but in reality children are better equipped than adults to undergo these ordeals."

As Truffaut sees it, a child on-screen becomes the representation of all children. Thus, when dealing with children, "you don't need a very complicated script. Often the behavior of an adult on-screen can be boring — he goes into a shop, makes a phone call, buys something. But if a child does the same thing, every action becomes an adventure; one feels this might be the first time he's done these things. . . . Also, one compares things with one's own childhood, so every particular action acquires a symbolic meaning."

"It's a strange phenomenon. One might say that with a child nothing is documentary — everything is vibrant. . . . Even when one is shooting a film, one is constantly surprised when working with children. When you shoot with a child, you are witnessing his discovery of cinema. . . ."

Truffaut likes the idea of children's "resilience" because of his continuing concern with the theme of survival — the theme that he sees at the root of all his work, as well as in much superior cinema from Charlie Chaplin shorts to the antiwar "Johnny Got His Gun," which he admires immensely.

Truffaut speaks with his usual surliness as he explains his theory that today's violent cinema is a reflection of today's society, which is becoming increasingly unctuous as the year 2000 approaches. Too many people see the year 2000 as an end, says the filmmaker, rather than a beginning.

This makes Truffaut feel a special responsibility as an artist. "The more people around us show irresponsible behavior, the more responsible I have to be. . . . I must reprimand many artists for pretending they don't care about art, when in fact they care about it enormously. . . . They pretend because of snobism, and a certain mental confusion. They feel that if they admitted their love of life, it would imply an acceptance of the society in which they live. . . ."

"I don't mean to cheat or to pretend that life is more beautiful than it is. . . . But in this great arena of contestation that one has today, there can be a difference between criticisms directed against society and one's feeling toward life. . . . We must look toward the end of the century. We must work toward the years 2003 or 2004. . . . I would never indicate on screen that I shared the suicidal attitude of many people today. It's a question of responsibility. . . . and I love life. . . ."

Finally, Truffaut challenges the generally accepted myth that Fascist imperialism was relatively mild. The British scholar presents a detailed and vivid account of Fascist imperialism's commitment in Libya and Eritrea. Mussolini himself stated that he would rather have Italy held than loved.

Mack Smith clearly analyzes the close relationship between Fascist foreign and domestic policies. War and imperialism were the raison d'être of Italian Fascism and Mussolini's foreign policy was closely intertwined with his domestic programs. "As soon as his domestic authority was unchallenged," Mack Smith points out, "he turned more and more to foreign affairs, partly as a means of extending his powers still further." Italy's everyday life was punctuated by militaristic slogans emphasizing domestic programs, like the "Battle of the Wheel." War was the ultimate purpose of Fascism.

The main weakness, Mack Smith concludes, "was obviously at the top, with Musso-

Mussolini and Fascism: destroying the myths

Mussolini's Roman Empire, by Denis Mack Smith. New York: The Viking Press. \$22 pp. \$11.95. London: Longman, £7.50.

By William Gaskill

In "Mussolini's Roman Empire" British historian Denis Mack Smith not only gives us the best account to date in the English language of Mussolini's imperial projects, but makes an important contribution to the destruction of major myths surrounding Italian Fascism.

The first myth Mack Smith attacks is the legend of the accidental character of Italian involvement in World War II. Many former supporters of Fascism in Italy and abroad have often contended that if it had not been for the Duce's mistake of entering the war as a junior partner of Hitler, the Fascist regime itself would be regarded today as a firm and efficient system of government.

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Does A to Z seating affect how pupils learn?

By Richard Aronour
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Claremont, California

You may never have heard of Ziegler's Law, important as it is to education and the teacher-pupil relationship.

Harvey Ziegler was a classmate of mine in first grade all through school. Then we sat in separate ways, and I didn't see Harvey again until we met at a class reunion. I think it was our 40th. I was dean of the faculty of a college then and had written some popular books as well as the unread "puff-or-perch" tomes with which I started.

The fact that I can't remember what Harvey did in all those years is proof of the validity of Ziegler's Law. In fact that is what brought up the subject.

"You have accomplished a lot more than I have," Harvey said. "And," he added, "I know it's a case of Ziegler's Law."

Trying hard to be modest, I denied ever having accomplished much. "Harvey, you've done as much as I have or more," I said. "You're trying to make me feel good."

"No, I'm not," Harvey said. "You got a better education than I did, and all on account of Ziegler's Law."

"Tell what's Ziegler's Law?" I asked. "And what has it to do with our education?"

Ziegler's Law defined

"All right, I'll tell you," Harvey said. "Ziegler's Law is that education depends on how far you are to the teacher in a classroom. Not if our teacher seated us alphabetically, a boy could remember and notice absences later. Since my name began with 'Z,' I always sat in the back row, while you, with a name beginning with 'A,' sat in the front row. I could sit in the window or whisper or pass notes in conversation. When people are very violent in defending a thesis, this violence is aimed at convincing themselves. Someone who is generally convinced speaks softly."

"That's why I get angry when I see a picture where a person kicks someone in the stomach. People who film things that are too violent are people who don't know how to film . . . whereas a Hitchcock work with very few elements, he really feels things. It's the same in conversation. When people are very violent in defending a thesis, this violence is aimed at convincing themselves. Someone who is generally convinced speaks softly."

As 2000 nears

Truffaut speaks with his usual surliness as he explains his theory that today's violent cinema is a reflection of today's society, which is becoming increasingly unctuous as the year 2000 approaches. Too many people see the year 2000 as an end, says the filmmaker, rather than a beginning.

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The main weakness, Mack Smith concludes, "was obviously at the top, with Musso-

and college classes, I could see the law emerging. Charlotte Adams was a better student than Betty Young, Henry Briggs was a better student than Jim Williams, and so on.

"What do you think?" Harvey asked.

"Maybe there's something to it," I said. "Anyhow, it isn't everyone who has a law named after him. With your Ziegler's Law, you've accomplished something I haven't."

I could see Harvey was pleased.

Rectangular seating patterns

I wish I had known about Ziegler's Law before. During the 40 years I taught in colleges and universities, the students in my classes, even in small seminars, sat in parallel rows. There was a rectangular pattern to the seating in the classroom. Bad as my memory for names always has been, I did not require alphabetical seating. I knew the students didn't like it. Harvey Ziegler would have sat in the back row only if he chose to.

But the essential part of Ziegler's Law, that "education depends on how close you are to the teacher in a classroom," has a broader application than to the alphabetical seating that Harvey felt had been a handicap to him.

What I have in mind is that, whether or not the seating is alphabetical, there are ways of bringing the teacher and students closer together. Or if not closer, at least breaking up the formality and rigidity of the classroom. Some teachers, whether in elementary schools, junior high schools, college, or graduate schools, already do this. I was too stupid to learn until too late.

Try semicircles

If I could start over, I would have the chairs in my classroom placed not in straight rows but in semicircles, and moved a little closer to one another and up as close to the teacher as possible. As I have said, I know some teachers already do this, and I commend them. But I have recently been into many classrooms, from first grade on up, where there are the same stiff rows I sat in as a student and stood in front of as a teacher. Unless the chairs are



fastened down, I suggest moving them, with Ziegler's Law in mind, into a semicircle or some other and perhaps more imaginative pattern.

I think there is a more informal, intimate feeling in a classroom in which the students are close to one another and grouped around the teacher. There will still be a front row and a back row, but those in the back row will feel more a part of the group than if they close the

old-fashioned back row to avoid notice or because they were seated alphabetically and their name was Williams, Young — or Ziegler.

Maybe Harvey Ziegler failed to get the maximum out of education because he sat so far away from his teachers. But at least he thought of Ziegler's Law, which, if applied inventively, might bring more equality as well as fellowship into the classroom.

Ziegler is the name. Give it a thought.

Community education — how it works

By Stephen Silha

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Santiago de Chuwa, Bolivia

He refers to the rural Indian population, where dedication to community is of primary importance. Many of them cannot speak the nation's official language, Spanish.

"Through community education, our people are working to improve their homes and methods of agriculture," said a toothy-hailed leader from a small village on the shore of Bolivia's Lake Titicaca. "We're no longer slaves because now we can read and write."

He

was

addressing

the

80

delegates

to

the

first inter-American workshop on community education, held in August for educators from the United States and seven Latin American countries. Their purpose: to see firsthand what community education was doing to spur self-development in one of Latin America's most underdeveloped countries.

The schools have become meeting places for community councils — school advisory groups which in some communities have merged with the tribal councils. They survey the community to identify problems and see what resources are available to solve the problems.

Their needs? More often than not, more schools. In education, these Indians see release for their people from the bondage of slavery that has been their lifestyle for over 200 years.

Col. Waldemar Pereira, Bolivia's Minister of Education, is pleased with the way "each community is raising its own standard of living through this project." He says it is a way to "break the structured ruralism that has been holding us back," while "saving the basic principles of our country."

During the second week of the workshop, delegates from 14 U.S. states, twinned with Latin American delegates by the National Association of Partners of the Americas — are all-age learning and resource centers. While children learn to read, adolescents learn carpentry, women take classes in home economics and nutrition, and men are busy digging wells, building latrines, and learning techniques to grow better crops.

Only recently have the schools been used all day by everyone. In the first workshop session, held in La Paz, Bolivian President Hugo Banzer-Suarez said, "The anxiety and search for knowledge in our country is greater than ever. The importance of community education is growing. . . . Seventy percent of the people can now start to find out who they are, to become full-class citizens."

"One thing we learned is that many countries in Latin America are ahead of us in using the community fully for projects, and involving them in educational decisions," said Dr. H. Larry Winecoff, associate director of the Center for Community Education at the University of South Carolina.

Detroit Symphony courts schools

By Rosamary Twomey

For more than half a century, the Detroit Symphony Orchestra and the Detroit public schools have worked together to provide free concerts, broadcasts, program guides, performances, and scholarships to area students.

This year more than 70,000 students will be bused to 16 free concerts in Ford Auditorium. These performances will be played back on radio school time via delayed broadcasts for those students unable to attend the concerts.

Under the direction of Dr. Paul Freeman, conductor-in-residence of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, a nationally unique pilot project started in 30 schools is being expanded to 45 schools this year. The program involves the placement of teachers' manuals in the schools to demonstrate to students, black students particularly, that black musicians have been and should continue to strive to be in the mainstream of classical music.

BICYCLE - HIKING CAMPING TRIPS

The Home Forum

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Beyond the surface image

I most enjoy going to a museum when I have no particular purpose or reason. Once inside I seem to generate my own private fog through which I perceive the art hazily, with a more intuitive than intellectual vision.

A few days ago I allowed myself the luxury of meandering in this manner through the European painting galleries of the Metropolitan Museum, pausing only when a painting penetrated the fog like a beacon. One of these was Bronzino's "Portrait of a Young Man," probably the Duke of Urbino who lived during the 16th century.

I remembered him well. When I was in my early 20s I lived with a roommate who was an ardent admirer of this particular young man and kept a picture of him, in museum postcard form, on her dresser mirror. I too was impressed by that handsome face and aristocratic carriage, and in those days he seemed a suitable model for Prince Charming.

Since then, I had, of course, noticed him on previous occasions in the museum, but not with the jolt of recognition I felt on this particular day. I looked at him closely and saw for the first time in that handsome face a haughtiness, a coldness, a touch of cruelty, and too great a stiffness, even inflexibility, in his bearing. I didn't like him any more. In my newly opened eyes he seemed conceited, cocksure, a male chauvinist for all seasons.

But he also seemed typical of youth, riding high on his crest and imagining this life will go on forever. His face now seemed to me vulnerable, unformed, almost uninhabited. Francis Cornford's lines about the poet Rupert Brooke drifted through my mind: "A young Apollo, golden-haired, stands dreaming on the verge of stirs/magnificently unprepared for the long dreariness of life."

I gave him a wry smile and moved on. Several rooms and many paintings intervened between the young man and Courbet's "The Woman with the Mirror" — *La Ballo Irlandese*, who caught my attention with her intelligent, beautiful, enigmatic face. I wanted to understand her and the acerb of that moment which she reflected. I imagined it to have occurred during a sleepless night, a dark night of the soul.

On one level you can simply view the painting as a portrait of a beautiful woman admiring herself somewhat anxiously. The clear, white skin, the faint flush, the clear blue eyes — it is the face of a woman at the crossroads between youth and middle age. She holds a strand from her lavish mane of chestnut hair up to the light, and there is as much eloquence in that gesture as there is in the melancholy expression on her face.

In her reflection she sees the fragility and ephemeral nature of fleshly beauty, and she scoffs at them for the viewer. Yet there is also character in her face, more than nostalgia for the past or apprehension of the future. The eyes are intent, looking not only at the face but searching for its meaning. She is trying to fathom her identity in that mirror, what is beneath the beauty, what will remain after the appearance is gone.

While contemplating her I found that Bronzino's young man kept preying on my mind, as if there were a connection between them. He epitomizes the budding arrogance of youth, and the ripening wisdom of age. Despite the difference in sex, they reflect each other at different points in time. She is a premonition of his future; he is an avocation of her past.

Both portraits are, really about vanity. Hers is the vanity of beauty, his is the vanity of power. They represent the classic male and female stereotypes, and they seem quite similar after all. Both are dealing in the



Pictures courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
"Woman with a Mirror": Oil on canvas by Gustave Courbet (1819-1877)



"Portrait of a Young Man": Oil on wood by Bronzino (1503-1572)

same coin, and ultimately cheating themselves. She understands this. He does not — yet — and maybe he never will.

Portraits like these are timeless. They both pull the viewer inside the mind of the subject

and draw feelings to the surface. Every deep portrait, that goes beyond the surface image, is a mirror in which one sees one's own nature and human nature reflected.

Diana Loecher

Sardines for anyone?

The other day a friend of mine was deplored the lowering of standards on the English domestic scene. She admitted it was difficult to keep up appearances, to maintain, in the present-day social field, the status quo, but she did think people had, of late, become unnecessarily sloppy in their habits, and that a definite pull should be taken before the nation forgot what even a table mat looked like. She seemed unaware that this criticism of her countrymen came oddly from her lips, seeing that these were in the process of eating round a sardine that had been pronged straight out of the tin into her mouth, and that she and I were sitting at the kitchen table, wearing corduroy trousers and bed-room slippers.

Of course I ribbed her about this, but as I did so I could not help reflecting on my childhood days when such a meal in such a venue would have been impossible. For in the kitchen there would have been a cook, Mrs. Brinkley, and because she was an artist, she could never, or hardly ever, be disturbed. One was occasionally allowed in to make some supervised fudge, or to give a ritual stir to the Christmas pudding, but that was all. Until specifically invited into it the kitchen was out of bounds.

It all seems a very long time ago, and certainly of no consequence, but as I rudely stretched across my friend and helped myself to a chunk of cheese I could not help remembering, with a little nostalgic pang, the sheer prettiness of an old-fashioned dining room table laid for an old-fashioned dinner party. Everything gleamed: the glass, the silver, the white linen napkins folded into double-cooked hats, standing like Prussian guardsmen the length of it.

When I was a child it took a great many people all day to get ready for a dinner party. No ordinary day this. The whole house hummed with sound, flowed with activity, and although not personally polishing the silver or putting the extra leaves in the dining room table or arranging the flowers or assembling the ingredients for poulet à la Roche/ou/coude, we went and watched other people so employed (Mrs. Brinkley excepted). Undercurrents of excitement and anxiety ran up and down the stairs like little tidal bores, so that even the routine of the nursery became infected.

Looking back it seems an amazing waste of time and energy. Nevertheless one remembers these labours vividly because the fruits of them were, as I said before, so pretty. I am sure meals are much better now, if anything speaking, much more democratic, more realistic, even, perhaps, because of their comparative unimportance, more spiritual, but no one can say they are easier on the eye.

Viewed through the bandisters on the nursery landing, that stream of silks and satins cascading down the stairs to the dining room like a beautiful, laughing, multi-coloured waterfall was a memorable sight, and I do not see why, for revolutionary reasons, I should try and forget it. I do not in the least want to go back to a seven-course dinner, or even changing for dinner. I am very happy with a bowl of soup and some kipper pasta or a slice of bread eaten in the company of hairy friends in jeans. All the same I am glad I am old enough to remember the colour, the ganca, graca, of those wicked, worthless, megalithic days of my youth.

Virginia Graham

Of never

Do not speak to me in "nevers".
Never is something
that I do not understand.
My childhood never reached out to debar:
embraced, as gospel, all the myths there are
of unscalable peaks, impenetrable jungles,
unnavigable rivers near and far
and lifetime journeys to the nearest star.
And over and over again, futility
was in the telling, not the doing.

Do not speak of never.
Time has its own way
of transposing every never into soon.

And often we are shown
that things that we may disown
as being farthest from the mind
turn out to be the nearest to the heart.

So never never
speak of never to me —

E. B. de Vito

Laughter — sudden glory

Looking round the fiction and drama shelves of my library the other day, I was struck by the fact that the scenes and characters that have made the deepest impression on me, and have lingered most persistently in my memory, are nearly always those that have depended on humor. This may of course be due to an innate frivolity in me and I don't really know how others feel. As I suspect that my attitude is widely shared, and that when it comes to the impact of fiction, laughter is perhaps the longest lived of the emotions. "Laughter," wrote Hobbes, "is nothing else but sudden glory," and it is by imparting such glory that Prokofiev's *Wald* evokes its more dazzling illustrations.

"What fools these mortals be!" exclaims Nick in "A Midsummer Night's Dream," but fiction is the foolish, or at least the comic, who seem particularly apt to transcend moral limitations and live on indefinitely. So that in this same play it is not Titania nor Oberon, nor those bewitched, and, to confess frankly, rather boring others, who remain after centuries most vividly alive in our recollection today — it is Bottom.

Indeed, if one considers the whole gallery of Shakespeare's portraits, one cannot help feeling that none has a greater hold upon our imagination and affection than Falstaff. However, at least so far as I am concerned, the great tragic figures owe something of their appeal to their ability to raise a momentary smile. Cleopatra, hopping "forth through the public street," or exuding her tantrums amusingly with Antony, brought so much nearer to us by the laughter she generates. Compare her, for instance, with the humorless, egotistical Coriolanus, who, for all his bitter sarcasm, calls up no sense of a genuine smile, and in consequence I feel stays remote and leaves one smiling on his fate with little more than academic interest.

"It might be scarcely fair to cite Dickens's *Dickens's* as one in which the comic characters are more memorable, for his talent is incomparably for the comic, and is mainly suited to it. Even when he attacks social ills his method is still to raise a smile, and it be a boisterous one. In the result he has achieved no serious life-size figure, not

"How d'you mean?"
I mean that all fiction, since it takes you into another world is a form of escapism, and I'd feel it was only common sense, if I were going to offer people an escape, to offer it into a better, brighter and more laughter-filled world."

Eric Forbes-Boyd

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, December 27, 1976

The Monitor's religious article

Season of peace and joy

What is the significance of Christmas in a world that seems troubled by discord? It surely represents more than a season of the year in which differences are set aside and hope is renewed that the promised blessings of peace and joy can actually become a reality that all may share. When viewed as a calendar event, this season comes to an end. Then, for some, thought may again be distracted by the apparent differences that divide people and nations.

The basis of lasting harmony can be gained when we are able to discern that the actual season of spiritual concord is not confined to a particular time of the year. Rather, it is a never-ending impartation from a loving Father to His children — a spiritual gift that can be enjoyed and shared each day, not just at some indefinite period in the future.

The prophet Isaiah understood the present possibilities of the message that the Christ, God's immortal Ideal, conveyed to humanity. He said, "How beautiful upon the mountain are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth!" His hymn of gladness continues, "Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem."

Isaiah's words were exemplified by Christ Jesus. His mission as the Messiah reached out to mankind to release them from sorrow, pain, and sin. He showed the way to overcome every barrier of separation from good through the understanding of man's eternal unity with God, divine Spirit. Our Master healed discord without regard for the artificial barriers of time or nationality. In directing his followers to spread the comforting truth of God's goodness and power, he affirmed that *Isaiah's* prophecy would be fulfilled in all ages.

Christ Jesus today confirms the unceasing nature of the divine blessings of universal harmony. In accord with the Bible, this Science of being shows that peace and joy are the inheritance of the perfect man of God's creating. These blessings are bestowed by the one Father-Mother, who is not only loving, but is the divine Principle, Love, itself; such peace and joy can be experienced in the measure that one's true, spiritual selfhood as the reflection of God is recognized.

Because the love of Love is established on Principle, it radiates the joyous news of healing and salvation equally to all peoples.

A fuller understanding of God is needed to reach to the core of every discord with a healing solution. A book that speaks of the all-goodness of God, His love and His constancy; in clear understandable terms is *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* by Mary Baker Eddy. *Science and Health* shows the reader how to love in a manner that brings about happy relationships, an honest affection for all mankind, and a deeper love for God. A paperback copy can be yours by sending £1.35 with this coupon to:

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Charles W. Yost

OPINION AND...

1977: a time for peace or a pause for war?

Washington

In one of his recent valedictorians Henry Kissinger said about the Middle East: "My assessment . . . is that the objective conditions that make for peace in the Middle East are better than they have been in perhaps decades."

It is true that conditions today are remarkably favorable. The shock of the 1973 war produced a sobering realization in Israel that the status quo could not painlessly, perhaps not possibly, be preserved. It produced an equally sobering realization in the Arab side that Israel is still and almost certainly will remain strong enough to survive.

Israel's Arab neighbors, Egypt, Syria, and Jordan, have unequivocally recognized the existence of Israel within its 1967 borders and stated their readiness to negotiate a guaranteed peace settlement with it. Israel has stated a readiness, within the context of such a settlement, to yield much, though not all, of its 1967 conquests.

Israel, Egypt, Syria, and Jordan have all announced their willingness to reconvene the Geneva conference at an early date to negotiate the general settlement. The United States and the Soviet Union have been advocating a similar course. The United Nations General Assembly has just called upon the Secretary-General to arrange for convening the conference next March.

Euphoria, an unaccustomed experience in the Middle East, is blooming like a rose. But does it have any roots? Will it dissolve overnight into the customary frustrations and recriminations? There are at least four serious obstacles, two of them obstacles to getting negotiations under way, and two to their subsequently proceeding very far.

First, what can reasonably be expected of the United States at this time? It is doubtful that the conference can actually be convened without the United States playing a politically difficult role in paving the way. Will the Carter administration, confronted by an array of domestic and foreign problems demanding immediate attention, be prepared in its early months to play such a role?

The second obstacle is Palestine Liberation Organization representation. The Arabs and Soviets insist the PLO must be represented from the outset. Israel and the United States insist that it cannot be represented unless it recognizes Israel's right to exist. Can this impasse be overcome, at least for a time, by PLO representatives being included in another Arab delegation?

A longer-term obstacle is whether the Arabs are psychologically ready, not only to recognize Israel and give it security guarantees, but to agree on concrete measures of "normalization" of their relations with Israel, without

which most Israelis will not believe real peace has been achieved.

Will the Arabs, while negotiations are in progress, be willing to relax their secondary economic boycotts and their harassment of Israel in UN bodies, which most Israelis and many Americans consider incompatible with a sincere desire for peace?

On the other hand, will Israel, in exchange for security guarantees and acceptable measures of normalization, be willing not to negotiate withdrawal from almost all of the territories occupied in 1967 but also to accept some sort of Palestinian state on the West Bank?

These are old questions but no less tough to resolve today even in the present state of euphoria. Just possibly, however, the decisive factor might be the contemplation of unpleasant alternatives.

The year 1977 may prove to be, as Kissinger suggested, a unique and fleeting moment in the overrunning of which the United States will have to play a decisive part. America's hope must be that, out of the very process of sitting around a common table month after month, year after year, there will slowly emerge a new spirit of accommodation and understanding, and that in the ambience of that spirit what now seems inconceivable will become possible.

If this opportunity is lost or action delayed, such a favorable time is not likely to recur. It

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Word pollution speaks for itself

Melvin Maddocks

Saving the English language has become sort of a cause, like saving the redwoods or saving the whooping crane. In the past couple of years a small army of reformers — ovoelists, English teachers, journalists, Edwin Newman — have thrown themselves into the breach against an enemy that has become popularly known as "word pollution."

The novelists have placed responsibility for the scourge on the journalists: those who run while they write for those who read while they run. The journalists have blamed the English teachers for the calamity ("Why can't Johnny read my newspaper?"). Everybody except Mr. Newman has pointed a finger at the nearest television tube.

The assumption has been that Word Pollution is a minor case of criminal negligence, like littering, and that a little admonition scolding here and a bumper sticker there will make the culprits — whoever they are — face up to their shame and begin to speak and write like Samuel Johnson. This notion that language can be improved, rather like table manners, may itself be part of the problem.

"Language," said Emerson in one of his oracular moments, "is the archives of history." If Emerson is right, our language is a profound indicator of our lives, and the Elizabethans, for example, wrote great English precisely because they — or enough of them — were great people. In fact, it only indicates our superficiality to believe that if we speak and write clear-thinking, elegant,

and noble English, we will become clear-thinking, elegant, and noble people, instead of the other way around.

A new book — still another product of the current language obsession — would seem to support Emerson's metaphor. "I Hear America Talking: An Illustrated Treasury of American Words and Phrases" by Stuart Berg Flexner (Van Nostrand, \$18.95) documents the inextricable connection between the quality of one's history and the quality of one's language:

American-English, as even a scanning of Mr. Flexner's 500 pages makes evident, is pungent, informal, stony — the language of a people with a lot of impatience and some humor trying to get things done. Economy, in language as in life, might seem to be the American passion. Mr. Flexner, an editor of the Random House Dictionary, estimates that there are 600,000 words in the English language. Americans, depending on their education, know 10,000 to 20,000 words but use only half that number. Indeed 80 words make up almost 80 percent of our speech; 70 words constitute about 50 percent of our writing vocabulary. Only 1,500 to 2,000 words are required for 90 percent of everything we have to say.

As a case of super economy, take Mr. Flexner's witty section on "Hub" (meaning everything from "What!" to "Are you crazy?"); "Hub" (ranging from "Wow!"

to "Oh yeah!"); "Uh-uh" (signifying "no" when the accent is even); and "Uh-bub" (meaning "yea" when the accent falls on the second syllable).

Then there is language and the national tone. American-English is just full of explosive ways to state strong, unqualified opinions. Mr. Flexner lists 54 synonyms for "Nonsense!" — sputtering from "Bunk!" to "Applesauce!"

American-English, in short, turns out to be the total product of everything from the pilgrim's stay in Holland (where the first Americans may have picked up the Dutch-derivative word "boss") to the Vietnam war (out of which emerged such grim terms as "fragging" and "kill ratio," such euphemisms as "protective reaction"). Twelve pages are devoted to railroad terms, which spread through the language as tracks spread across the country.

Words lie, but language doesn't. It can't. It has no choice — in its idealism, in its obscenity — but to represent for good and for bad the people who stammer out their character and their experience through it. So, if we become better people — wiser, more honest, more compassionate — our language will become better, and probably not until then, despite all the "Beautify Our Nouns-and-Verbs" projects abroad in the land.

Oh yes. About those 50 most popular words. No. 4 is "a." No. 3 is "the." No. 2 is "you." And No. 1 — No. 1 is "I." And if that doesn't tell us something about language and about life, what will?

Crinolines in Cracow

By Eric Bourne

Cracow, Poland
Plastic ribbons — colors extra bright under floodlights — stream down the six-story facade of the old Potocki family palace on the town square. Through the front door surges a motley collection of bewigged, silk-stockinged noblemen and their crinolined ladies.

From the courtyard balcony, a brass band blasts out a welcome.

Within the palace, a veritable storm of paper屑 (paper) falls from the top floor through the well of the great staircase as guests walk up to the salons whose walls are hung with the age-dark oil paintings of the Potockis.

The occasion is the 20 years jubilee of the Cracow — the "cellar" youth club founded in the wake of Poland's "liberal" reforms of 1968. Most of the "liberalizing" was short-lived. But Potocki has gone on, from strength to strength.

It could only happen in Cracow. Poland's second city has something — sprung probably from a university tradition begun 600 years ago — what Warsaw, the capital, has not. That

is, the exuberance of a lighter outlet to life, often denied.

This night a new generation of bands, with all the new electronic devices and the youth in their new "de riguer" jeans, is in command in the cellars of the palace — now Cracow's cultural club. The 1968 "founding fathers" — the lords and ladies in the historical costume prescribed for the jubilee ball — are upstairs.

Everyone who is anyone — Cracow's writers, artists, academics, local officials, including good communist party members — seem to be here.

At four a.m. the bell still goes strong. We continue a long talk of the day before with the editor of the prestigious Roman Catholic weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny* on the church's position in Poland's present uneasy situation.

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Sometimes, the authorities ask what he is doing. He tells them and produces his "textbook." It is a well-worn copy of the official Polish edition of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights, which Poland signed along with the other communist nations.

It is a slightly sensitive subject just now, however. More "freedom of expression" is something for which Polish workers as well as intellectuals, church, and students are pressuring the government — as a means of avoiding the explosive kind of dissent which rocked Warsaw last June.

Students flock to the Green Balloon Cafe, with its Japanese Empire ambience, sipping tea and smoking like quid; serious talk as well as pop.

Eric Bourne is this newspaper's special correspondent in Eastern Europe.

COMMENTARY

Joseph C. Harsch

A Cabinet without ideologues

With the Carter Cabinet complete now the fact which should not be surprising but probably will be to most people emerges that Mr. Carter seems likely to be the most conservative president the United States has had since John F. Kennedy.

Mr. Kennedy kept the dollar and the American economy stable during his presidency, left a surplus in the Treasury, and almost avoided a fatal entanglement in Vietnam. Business prospered. Social conflicts were kept to a minimum.

Only a soldier, Dwight D. Eisenhower, could have kept the United States out of all the wars which tempest his country during his eight-year presidency, and also kept a tight rein on the "military-industrial complex" which he defined and identified. If Mr. Eisenhower, the soldier, had been president in 1965 instead of Lyndon Johnson, the civilian professional politician, it is an excellent guess that the United States would never have found itself in the Vietnam war.

All four parties most concerned, therefore — Israel, its Arab neighbors, the U.S., and the U.S.S.R. — should perceive it to be in their vital interests to join in overcoming obstacles in ironing out the necessary preliminaries quickly, and in launching the conference.

There is one essential caveat. Neither governments nor the general public should be under any illusion that the negotiations can quickly succeed or that, if they do not, they can inevitably fail.

The conference may have to continue for two or three years, with many interruptions, deadlocks, and moments of despair — in the overrunning of which the United States will have to play a decisive part. America's hope must be that, out of the very process of sitting around a common table month after month, year after year, there will slowly emerge a new spirit of accommodation and understanding, and that in the ambience of that spirit what now seems inconceivable will become possible.

Perhaps most Americans will have difficulty to this day to recognize the Kennedy presidency as having been conservative. Perceptions of a presidency are often obscured by political mythology. Richard Nixon, for example, would probably still be described by the average layman as having been a conservative. Yet in fact Mr. Nixon practiced Keynesian economics, to the horror of true economic conservatives, and reopened the diplomatic channels between the United States and Communist China, to the horror of most self-styled political conservatives.

Fortunately for modern, Western mankind political leaders seldom behave in office according to popular perceptions or political ideology. If the record is examined one of the labeled liberal or radical doing the

conservative thing, or vice versa.

So, what is to be expected of Mr. Carter? He owed his narrow victory to the diligence of the trade unions and the devotion of the black community. But black political leaders are loudly complaining about his Cabinet choices, particularly his choice of an attorney general whose record is anything but that of a civil rights radical.

The emerging Cabinet is not a group of ideologues.

Quite the contrary. It is a collection of people of considerable competence in various fields of American life. If Northerners think too many come from Georgia, the Carter response is fair enough that Southerners have been underrepresented in the Cabinet for a very long time.

The main criticism seems to be that both budget director and attorney general are old Carter associates from Atlanta. Well, isn't a new president entitled to have in his Cabinet at least a few people he has known for a long time and whom he can trust to be candid and forthright with him? Both, incidentally, seem to come from the political and economic middle road.

Certainly labor and blacks will not be forgotten during the Carter administration. Labor will end up happy if Carter economic policies stimulate employment through stimulation of business and industry. But the complaints which have gone up from black and labor leaders make it fairly clear that Mr. Carter is certainly not turning the White House over to them just because they made him president.

on ABC News, reported that a search of the records had brought up the fact that the stock market over the last half century has consistently done better under the Democrats.

So, what is to be expected of Mr. Carter?

He owed his narrow victory to the diligence of the trade unions and the devotion of the black community. But black political leaders are loudly complaining about his Cabinet choices, particularly his choice of an attorney general whose record is anything but that of a civil rights radical.

The AFL-CIO has not dictated Mr. Carter's choice as secretary of labor, nor seems likely to dominate his economic strategy. The inclination from his choice for the key budget and treasury posts would seem to forecast an economic strategy aimed much more at encouraging business than at spending federal money for quick jobs.

Certainly labor and blacks will not be forgotten during the Carter administration. Labor will end up happy if Carter economic policies stimulate employment through stimulation of business and industry. But the complaints which have gone up from black and labor leaders make it fairly clear that Mr. Carter is certainly not turning the White House over to them just because they made him president.

I do not mean to suggest that I think the Carter administration is going to run the country to the disadvantage of the trade union and black communities. But I do say that the other communities have no reason to think that their interests are going to be overlooked or ignored.

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Professional liberals are bound to be disappointed by the Carter choices. But the great majority of Americans who want their public affairs managed competently and cautiously should, it seems to me, feel reassured.

To help the poorest help themselves

By Robert S. McNamara

Excerpts from an address by the head of the World Bank to this fall's meeting of its Board of Governors in Manila.

If we look about the world today realistically, it is evident that the desire for a greater degree of equity — for a more just and reasonable equality of opportunity among individuals, both within nations and between nations — is becoming a major concern of our time.

It is a trend that has been gathering momentum for a century or more. The rise of the labor union movement, the drive against racial discrimination, the expansion of civil rights, the enhancement of the status of women — these and similar movements have all had an ingredient in common: the surge toward greater social justice and more equitable economic opportunity.

This broad thrust is growing more insistent today in all nations. It is searching for new solutions to the intolerable problems of poverty.

The per capita incomes of the more than one billion human beings in the poorest countries have nearly stagnated over the past decade. In relative terms they have risen only about two dollars a year: from \$130 in 1965, to \$150 in 1975.

But what is beyond the power of any set of statistics to illustrate is the inhuman degradation to which the vast majority of these individuals are condemned to because of poverty. Malnutrition saps their energy, stunts their bodies, and shortens their lives. Illiteracy darkens their minds, and forces their futures. Simple, preventable diseases maim and kill their children. Squalor and ugliness pollute and

poison their surroundings.

The self-perpetuating plight of the absolute poor simply cuts them off from whatever economic progress there may be in their own societies. They remain largely outside the entire development effort, neither able to contribute much to it, nor benefit fairly from it.

The economies of these nations — already immensely productive — will become even more productive over the next few years. For them — or indeed for any of the other developing nations — increasing their help to the poorest countries would not require them to diminish in the slightest their own high standard of living, but only to devote a minuscule percentage of the additional per capita real income they will earn over the decade.

If governments of the poorest countries do not take the internal measures they must, and if the developed nations do not help them with the development assistance they so seriously need, then the outlook for three out of every five of the 1.2 billion human beings who live in those disadvantaged countries is unacceptably grim.

The record of the middle-income developing countries over the past decade has been better, but their achievement has been marred by serious inequities in their income-distribution patterns.

Not only do the 170 million absolute poor in their societies suffer the same deprivations as those in the poorest countries, but hundreds of millions more subsist on income levels less than a third of the national average.

The principal reason for this is that the strongest and wealthiest of the OECD nations — countries whose gross domestic product accounts for two-thirds of the entire combined GNP of the 17-nation Development Assistance

Committee group — are substantially below the average of the others in their response to the target. And the contribution of these nations will decline even further unless they act deliberately to reverse their projected ODA trends.

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

The Monitor's view

Israel's new political crisis

Expulsion of members of the right-wing National Religious Party from his Cabinet by Prime Minister Itzhak Rabin makes it likely that general elections in Israel, due next October or November, will be held much earlier. Balloting now could occur this spring or early summer, with Mr. Rabin heading a caretaker government his own political front at home. This would be an improvement over the present situation, under which some have wondered if the government coalition could hold together under the pressure of crucial negotiations.

The United States meanwhile will be a key factor in Israeli considerations. The ex-

The cabinet crisis is seen as resulting from a decision by Mr. Rabin to move the date of the elections forward by roughly six months, primarily because of domestic political considerations. If the elections were held later, the expectation is that Mr. Rabin will want to have a meeting with President-Elect Jimmy Carter as soon as possible after the Carter inauguration, to make personal contact with the new chief executive as well as to bolster his own political standing in Israel.

And it is certainly ironic that the government crisis was sparked by Religious Party objections to holding an official ceremony on the eve of the Sabbath — a ceremony to welcome the arrival of the first of Israel's new F-15 fighter planes from the United States. The Prime Minister asserts the ceremony finished before the start of the Sabbath at sundown.

By parting company with Religious Party members of his coalition Cabinet, the Prime Minister ended what has often proved to be an uneasy grouping. At the same time, he has precipitated a long-awaited showdown between Israeli hawks and doves over Israeli policy toward the occupied Arab territories. And that in turn could have an effect on the Israeli position of resumed Arab-Israeli peace talks, the prospect of which is being much discussed.

Before the start of the Sabbath at Kadum.

The determination of some Israelis not to withdraw from any occupied territory meanwhile was highlighted during the current crisis by the first anniversary of the founding of a settlement at Kadum in the occupied West Bank by extreme nationalists against government orders. The settlement, which the Prime Minister reluctantly allowed to remain, is cited by Arabs as evidence that Israel is not really

If Mr. Rabin, or a possible successor, gets a fresh mandate from the Israeli people, that leader will be able to negotiate with the Arabs with less concern about lack of support from serious about withdrawal.

We can only wait to see if the present political upheaval clears the air, as everyone would like to see happen, or leaves the problems of occupation and peace still clouded.

Britain: not enough or too much?

"Too little" was the way some characterized the British Labour government's latest effort to stem the country's harrowing downward economic spiral. And a further slip by the pound sterling on money markets as Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey announced new spending cuts hinted that financial education, public housing, road building, foreign aid, civil service, and food prices. The defense cutbacks alone will give Britain's North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies cause for concern about the credibility of the British contribution.

Likewise sobering is the fact that this is the

Others thought differently. "Very harsh" was the comment of Jack Jones, head of the powerful Transport and General Workers Union. And his words testified as much as anything to the enormous difficulty Prime Minister Callaghan's Cabinet has faced in trying to meet stiff International Monetary Fund re-

Likewise abiding is the fact that this is the fourth round of emergency spending cuts and tax increases that the Labour government has been forced to hand out to the nation since last February. Each time the Chancellor has expressed confidence his moves would do the trick; each time more has quickly become necessary. This lack of success in halting the slide in the past naturally makes Britons and outsiders wonder if enough of the right in-

meet stiff International Monetary Fund requirements for the \$3.9 billion loan Britain desperately needs to stay visible, while at the same time not alienating the support of Labour's leftists and trade unions that the government must have to remain in power.

The Prime Minister, the Chancellor, and

sidors wonder if enough of the right ingredients have been used this time.

It remains to be seen now if Labour has the courage — and political power — to carry out its announced moves without flinching. In the face of what plainly will be very strong criticism, Nationalisation, socialism, and the British

The Prime Minister, the Chancellor, and their colleagues are constantly aware that the so-called social contract with the British labor unions, whereby wages are kept from rising in return for maintaining the social policies which workers consider essential, must not be shattered, lest an even worse situation ensue. To their credit, they have convinced IMF officials

of this. In a bow to unions and leftistia moreover, Mr. Healey's strictures on the economy included no new cuts in welfare programs.

But the cuts will bite deeply into Britain's spending this coming year and the following year on such vital items as national defense.

For Britain, the road ahead is not only uphill and rocky. Political precipices yawn on both right and left. Backseat drivers abound. Meanwhile, one can only hope that this time the government atops will provide enough momentum to get Britain through its crisis.

Swapping political prisoners

It is regrettable that the freeing of civil-rights fighter Vladimir Bukovsky from the Soviet Union was the result of a trade. He should have been freed on the basis of the principles of justice and human rights. The Soviet government officially recognized it has political prisoners."

have won his liberty without a quid pro quo in the form of an exchange for the jailed Chilean Communist Party leader. But the swap negotiated by the U.S. is also a significant development because it has placed the entire issue of human rights on a high international level. Moscow has to effect, invited even greater public attention by governments and the public in the West to its cruel treatment of dissenters. prison life had greatly worsened after the signing of the Helsinki agreement on East-West co-operation. Whether there is a causal relationship is difficult to determine. Certainly other Soviet exiles, such as Andrei Angrik, indicate that would-be emigres and dissidents in the U.S.S.R. are using the Helsinki accord to bolster their case and doing so with some success.

As Mr. Lukovsky, who has spent 12 years in Soviet prisons, camps and psychiatric clinics, commented after his arrival in Zurich, "I regard this exchange as an extraordinary event. It is the first time that the Soviet Government has agreed to release political prisoners."

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'Peace in the Middle East? Well, we're working on it'



JN vote for 'armed struggle'

France, and West Germany, were right in voting against it.

To their credit, another 12 countries including Japan, Canada, Italy, Spain, and Sweden abstained, and it was said in UN corridors that even some Africans agreed privately the resolution went too far in opening the door to use of military force to attain its ends. The contention of Americans and others is that independence still can be achieved through negotiation, and that this is the better way, difficult though the task will continue to be.

This was the first time that a majority of the world's nations represented were ready to openly sanction the use of armed violence to assist what most people, including those of the Western nations, regard as an oppressive colonial regime in Namibia. Few doubt that strong steps are necessary to get genuine independence moves under way, or that the black tribes of Namibia need all the outside support and encouragement they can muster. But a call for armed struggle to achieve this and is going too far, and the U.S. along with Britain,

The U.S., for one, apparently still has been hoping for talks on Namibia in Geneva under UN auspices, a commendable enough objective. However, the advent of the holiday season, with its UN recess, and the coming change of administration in Washington, have made outgoing Secretary of State Kissinger's efforts on this score of little avail thus far. The president of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO), Sam Nujoma, has not been responsive to the Kissinger overtures, and his group is the main liberation element.

South Africa, meanwhile, has done little to improve the situation. It has held conferences with black leaders in Namibia, but has refused to respond to UN resolutions calling for its withdrawal. Nor will it negotiate with SWAPO, which it regards as a terrorist organization.

But more official and moderate South African response to outside views might bolster the arguments of those urging continued negotiation in southern Africa, rather than armed conflict. For beyond Namibia, the situations in Rhodesia and South Africa itself could be next to draw attention. The fact that the UN now has been moved to go further than before indicates how serious matters are becoming.

The United States does not come out of UN debates completely unscathed, either — not as long as it continues to allow import of Rhodesian chrome and nickel in flat defiance of a UN trade embargo against that nation. This time Washington, at least, abstained, rather than voted against, another resolution condemning its chrome purchases.